Daily Report

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Hostage-Taking Affair in Middle East Denounced

AU0308121089 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Aug 89 p 5

[Todor Todorov commentary: "Danger Remains"]

[Text] As is already known, the tragic results of the kidnapping of Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim 'Ubayd, a distinguished leader of the "Hizballah" Shi'ite military-political organization, by Israeli commandos in southern Lebanon, are already evident. Colonel William Higgins, a U.S. hostage, who until February of last year worked as deputy commander of the UN forces in southern Lebanon, was executed. However, the danger of further escalating violence has not been eliminated. The news from Beirut is increasingly alarming.

The international public is greatly worried about the deterioration of the situation in southern Lebanon and the execution of U.S. citizen William Higgins. At the same time, the concern about Israel's behavior is growing. The invasion of foreign territories and the kidnapping of local citizens is incompatible with the present-day political realities, and all of this sounds like a chapter from an outdated crime story. The Israeli action in southern Lebanon is a gross violation of international law and of the universal norms of human behavior, and it represents a danger of further complications in the international atmosphere.

Despite the tragic nature of its development, Shaykh 'Ubayd's kidnapping is not without certain ironic connotations. It turned against the categorical stand of the United States, insisting that the state of Israel should not be prevented from "guaranteeing" its own security, regardless of the methods it applies for this purpose. Following the "Pollard" espionage affair, the kidnapping of Shaykh 'Ubayd by Israeli commandos is the second incident that has disturbed the traditionally strong alliance between the United States and Israel.

Zhivkov Meets French Party Leader Marchais

AU0308200289 Sofia BTA in English 1912 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Varna, August 3 (BTA)—Delegations of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and of the French Communist Party, led by Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP, and by Mr Georges Marchais, secretary general of the French Communist Party, opened talks here today.

The two party leaders expressed their support for the revolutionary restructuring under way in all spheres of life in the Soviet Union. They found that the processes of renewal in the socialist countries influence positively the development of the present-day world and attract the attention of the international community.

Analysing in detail the situation in the world, Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Georges Marchais pointed to the need for joint action by the peoples of the socialist, the developing and the capitalist countries to open up new prospects for social progress, disarmament, peace, security and European cooperation.

Bulgaria's peace-loving and constructive policy of maintaining and promoting the relations of good-neighbourliness and cooperation in the Balkans, towards turning the region into a nuclear- and chemical-weapon-free zone, was highly commended at the meeting.

Ovcharov Holds Economic Talks in Romania

AU0308152089 Sofia BTA in English 1456 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 3 (BTA)—Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, alternate member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and minister of planning and economy, led a Bulgarian delegation on a brief visit to Bucharest. They conferred with a Romanian delegation led by Mr Radu Balan, chairman of the State Planning Committee. They discussed the state of bilateral relations and the opportunities for their further enhancement. The sides signed a protocol on the coordination of the economic development plans of Bulgaria and Romania for the 1991-1995 period.

In the Romanian capital, Mr Stoyan Ovcharov was received by Mr Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and president of Romania. They pointed to the traditionally good relations of friendship and cooperation which are being steadily promoted in the spirit of the common understanding reached between the first leaders of Bulgaria and Romania. An emphasis was laid on the opportunities available for more active interaction and especially for cooperation and specialisation in the production of technologically sophisticated and high-quality goods. It was indicated that the promotion of bilateral ties is to the benefit and in the best interests of the neighbouring friendly states and peoples and serves the common cause of socialism and peace.

State Council Gives 'Arafat Award on Birthday

AU0308162389 Sofia BTA in English 1552 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 3 (BTA)—The State Council has issued a decree on the conferment of the Thirteen Centuries of Bulgaria Order on Mr Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organisation and president of the State of Palestine. He is honoured for his services to the struggle for the realization of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and for his contribution to the strengthening and promotion of the friendly relations between the Bulgarian and the Palestinian peoples and in connection with his 60th birthday.

Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the Central Committee of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council, has cabled greetings to Mr Yasir 'Arafat on the occasion of his 60th birthday and on the conferment of the Thirteen Centuries of Bulgaria Order on him.

"In your person, the Bulgarian people profoundly respects and highly appreciates an outstanding leader of the Palestinian revolution, an untiring champion for the exercise of the legitimate rights of the heroic Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of their own independent homeland," the cable reads.

Bulgaria will persevere in her support for the struggle of the Palestinian people and for the efforts towards a just, comprehensive and durable settlement of the Middle East conflict, the cable says.

Syrian Ba'th Party Official Interviewed on Visit

AU0308154289 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 2 Aug 89 p 3

[Interview with Tawfiq Salhah, member of the regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, by Aleksandr Nachev: "Friendship Means Aid as Well as Sympathy"—date, place not given]

[Text] The visit to Bulgaria by the delegation of the National Progressive Front of the Syrian Arab Republic, as the leader of the delegation, Tawfiq Salhah, member of the regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, stated before the delegation's departure, was beneficial and helped to further expand and deepen the traditional friendship between the two parties and their front organizations.

These were not merely words of formal politeness. The 10 days or so that the Syrian visitors spent in Bulgaria at the invitation of the Fatherland Front National Council gave them an opportunity to meet not only leading state, party, and social figures, but also members of the Fatherland Front, and to see up close the problems that are being resolved under restructuring. Now, too, when I talked with Tawfiq Salhah, he noted with gratitude the attention that was paid to the delegation by Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers and member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]; by Pencho Kubadinski, chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council and member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo; by Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee; and by Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions and candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo.

"At these meetings," my interlocutor pointed out, "emphasis was once again laid upon the rising development of the interrelations between the two friendly countries in the spirit of the accords reached between their top leaders, Todor Zhivkov and Hafiz al-Asad. In examining important political issues, as has always been the case in the past, we established that our views were completely in harmony."

[Nachev] In addition to Sofia, the delegation also visited Plovdiv and Varna. Did you obtain any impressions of the life of the ordinary Bulgarian, of the opportunities for him to freely fulfill himself in labor and profess his chosen religion without hindrance? You have almost certainly already heard about the accusations made by Turkey and other reactionary circles that the mosques are being pulled down in Bulgaria and that the Muslims are forbidden to visit them....

[Salhah] I will answer by telling you what I saw and felt about the life in your country. It is my first visit here, and I am filled with admiration for the progress and development achieved by the socialist revolution, the liberty and full rights that every citizen enjoys, irrespective of his professed religion, and the opportunities he is given to take part in the further democratization of society. I know about the anti-Bulgarian campaign, but we in Syria are profoundly convinced that the whole of Bulgaria's development has been placed on scientific, progressive, and socialist foundations.

[Nachev] What new ideas are you taking away with you, bearing in mind the common goals and aspirations of the two front organizations, and how to you view the future development of their interrelations?

[Salhah] It was very interesting for us to learn about the new positions that the Fatherland Front is taking in Bulgarian society with regard to the unification of political forces and the front's participation in social management, especially in organizing the population to resolve its own vital problems. This is why I consider that the exchange of visits is essentially also an exchange of experience, which is utilized in accordance with the specific features of the situation in which each country lives.

[Nachev] What, more precisely, is the situation in which the National Progressive Front of Syria is now working, and what tasks does it face?

[Salhah] Our front is playing a crucial role in the strategic directions of life in Syria, as embodied in both the Statute and the Program of the Syrian Arab Ba'th Party. The Front is represented at all levels of government: in the National Assembly, the Council of Ministers and the ministries, and in regional and local government. In addition, it also has committees in the places where people live and work. Arab unity, progress, and socialism is the great idea that unites six parties in the front, which include the Ba'th Party, the Communist Party of Syria, the Socialist Unionist Movement, and others. Reactionary groupings take no part in the front, and therefore it is called progressive. The very

political situation in Syria, and especially in the neighboring countries of Lebanon, Israel, and so on, requires us to continuously diversify and perfect our methods and make use of the most valuable elements of the socialist countries' achievements.

"At the end of our conversation," said Tawfiq Salhab, "I would like to stress that the National Progressive Front and its member parties take a firm stand on their positions against imperialism and Zionism, and fully support the population of Palestine, who are living in their own lands that have been occupied by Israel. In assuming this great responsibility toward the Arab nation, we rely upon our people, our friends from the socialist countries led by the Soviet Union, and progressive forces throughout the world. Both now and in the future, we stand with you in the same trench against the enemies of socialism."

Agro-Industrial Union Meets on Animal Breeding

AU0308172589 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Aug 89 p 6

[Petko Stamov report: "Topical Problem and Questions of Intensification"]

[Text] The question of improving labor organization and wages as a factor of increasing labor productivity has assumed a particularly topical significance in recent months. At yesterday's session, the Executive Committee of the National Agro-Industrial Union Association focused its attention upon the food industry and animal husbandry sectors. Untapped reserves and shortcomings, resulting from traditional methods of work were pointed out in both spheres.

The reports submitted to the session and the ensuing statements stressed that today the problems in question should be discussed from the viewpoint of restructuring, by linking raw materials resources and the processing installations of the two branches, on the basis of their economic integration.

New technological solutions should be boldly introduced. The establishment of pasture complexes, the raising of ruminant animals under natural conditions, the breeding of sheep without milking them, and the introduction of special milking installations for the milk-producing sheep breeding sector—these are part of the measures that should provide opportunities not only for compensating for the shortage of personnel, but also for releasing unsuitable workers in the animal breeding sphere. The resolute introduction of land-lease and piece-work conditions and the establishment of close links between wages and labor productivity should contribute to this goal.

The trends submitted by the economic associations envisage that the decisive organizational and technological improvements should proceed side by side. A system of hourly wages and of interchanging jobs shall be introduced and the piece-work principle shall be more resolutely applied.

People's Control Committee Views Shortcomings

AU3107200789 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] A session of the State and People's Control Committee leadership was held in Sofia. As a result of investigations on the efforts to overcome certain difficulties in the trade sector, in public catering, and services, the control organs have established certain negative trends in this sphere. A reluctance to produce certain types of goods was pointed out in this connection. The practice of failure to coordinate state orders with [word indistinct] is being further pursued. The quality of certain goods and services is still poor.

No efforts are devoted to restructuring in the trade sector. The investigations conducted in 8,000 establishments of 128 municipalities all over the country showed that, in terms of their scope, trends, and results, the activities of municipal people's councils, economic organizations, companies and enterprises do not conform with the requirements of Decision No 13 issued by the Council of Ministers in 1989. It was ascertained that in their activities numerous enterprises working on the basis of Decision No 35 have failed to combine individual and state interests, which causes considerable distortions in our comprehensive policy in this sphere. Particularly gross violations were committed in public catering establishments working according to the lease system. In this case the outdated methods of work are in contradiction with the new conditions under which activities should be conducted.

At today's meeting, the State and People's Control leadership also discussed a report on the progress of restoration work in Strazhitsa. Serious delays were established in connection with the fulfillment of the annual tasks of this construction program.

The leadership of the control committee adopted relevant decisions on the two aforementioned investigations.

Sofia Airport Closes for Repairs 13 Sep-10 Oct

AU0108132589 Sofia BTA in English 1216 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Sofia, August 1 (BTA)—The airport of Sofia will be closed for repairs from September 13 to October 10 this year. In this period international Balkan flights are to be handled by the airport in Plovdiv. All domestic flights will be suspended. This announcement was made at today's press conference organized by the management of the BGA-Balkan State Company.

For the sake of convenience of the passengers using international flights, the company has organized their transportation by bus from Sofia to the Plovdiv airport and vice versa.

The foreign airlines are given the possibility of operating their flights ex Varna or Burgas.

At the moment the airport of Plovdiv is under repair in order to get it ready for providing passengers with efficient services. The reception building will be extended and eleven new projects amounting to about 680 000 leva's worth will be built to house the coordination centre, the avio-technical base, etc.

Mr Petko Petkov, head of the company, said that the design work for the forthcoming repair of the Sofia airport is already finished. The repair of the runway only will cost about 7.5 million leva and the total amount representing the cost of the reconstruction and the loss ensuing from the suspension of some flights is expected to be about 12 million leva.

The management of the company is going to discuss the construction of a new airport in Sofia. An international competition for its design has been announced, its most important requirements being efficient handling of the traffic, low price and construction within the shortest possible time. The existing facilities of the present airport will be preserved and incorporated in the new one.

Israeli Kidnapping, Marine's Murder Condemned

AU0308120489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Aug 89 p 7

[Vaclav Bervida commentary: "Terrorism Is a Crime"]

[Text] It all began last week when an Israeli commando unit kidnapped from the south Lebanese village of Jibchit Shaykh 'Abd al-Karim 'Ubayd, the local Shi'ite spiritual leader, who had been identified as the head of the radical Hizballah party. On Monday [31 July], a group calling itself the Organization for the Oppressed of the World responded with the report of the "execution" of Lieutenant Colonel Higgins, an officer belonging to a UN unit based in Lebanon, who had been kidnapped in February last year; other hostages are under the threat of death. The U.S. Administration is considering its response, the world is outraged by the new wave of violence in the Middle East, and agreement is widespread that Israel unleashed it.

At the root of the years-long tragedy in the Middle East is, without doubt, historic injustice which gives rise to extremism. It is sometimes possible to define terrorist acts as manifestations of desperation and as an extreme method of asserting definite political demands. But this does not make them any less illegal. Similarly, terror which is implemented as state policy, that is, the "resolution" of problems by brute force and keeping other people, and even other countries, in a state of terror deserves greater condemnation. Kidnappings, bombings, the murders of hostages, insidious assaults on foreign territory.... The scene of such action is not only the Middle East.

A civilized policy, without passion and extremism, can only belong to civilization. Sensible thinking politicians are fully aware of this. It is appropriate to recall here, for example, that the Palestine Liberation Organization, whose elements in their time, likewise, did not avoid acts of desperation, have explicitly condemned all forms of terrorism and have offered states their cooperation in the struggle against it.

Only a few countries in one way or another have not themselves experienced terrorism, for instance, in the form of aircraft hijacking. Terrorist acts can only be confronted, and many people are today agreed in this, by effective international cooperation in dealing with it and by the more complete eradication of its root causes. Czechoslovakia also shares this view. We have declared many times that we are emphatically against all kinds of terrorism and that we consider any kind of terrorist act—individual, group, or state—to be a crime.

Restraint Urged in Mideast Hostage Situation

LD0308163289 Prague CTK in English 1518 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 3 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia has always condemned all forms of terrorism, kidnapping, attacks as well as taking and killing hostages as they can get out of any control and be misused as a pretext for direct military intervention, Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry Spokesman Ivan Kulhanek said in his statement today.

Czechoslovakia is convinced that the present tragic development of events in Lebanon can be halted only with maximum restraint of all sides concerned in the interest of installing peace not only in this country but in the whole Middle East region, Ivan Kulhanek stressed.

Adamec Greets Poland's Kiszczak on Election

AU0408084189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK)—CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec has sent a congratulatory telegram to Czeslaw Kiszczak on the latter's election as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

Stepan Speaks on Democratization at Prague Aktiv

AU0308161289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Aug 89 p 3

[Speech by Miroslav Stepan, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Presidium and first secretary of the Prague city party committee at a "city-wide meeting of the aktiv of Prague party functionaries and People's Militia and National Security Corps members" held in Prague on 1 August: "We Will Spare No Forces To Strengthen Socialism"]

[Text] The Presidium of the city party committee deems it necessary to meet with you, the leading aktiv of functionaries from major Prague workplaces and People's Militia and National Security Corps members, at a city-wide working meeting, in the presence of the Presidium of the National Front city committee. We are glad to be able to discuss precisely in this composition the current problems linked with the present stage of restructuring and democratization and with its implementation in the conditions of the capital, as well as the preparation of annual members meetings and party conferences. We want to exchange experience with you, hear your opinions, and agree on further steps ahead along the road of the implementation of the positive program that has been worked out on the initiative of the party and which enjoys the support of the general public and the entire National Front. We are meeting in a period full dynamic events, of important decisionmaking, but also of hard, responsible work. It will culminate with the deliberation of the 18th Communist Party of Czechoslavakia [CPCZ] Congress next May. The main thing that the party's present political activity and its activation must do is to increase its influence on the processes taking place in the political and socioeconomic spheres by increasing its militant character and strengthening unity and ideological cohesion on the basis of our

party's policy, construction of socialism, and the program of restructuring and democratization. The importance of this period was stressed at the 14th CPCZ Central Committee session in the summary speech by General Secretary Milos Jakes.

It is necessary to again raise the Communist's self-esteem. We have nothing to be ashamed about; there is no need for pessimism or nihilism. We have a specific society-wide plan that concerns everyone, and that we will implement with the active participation of all. The results we achieved in the past are not small. We are rightly proud that our Communist Party led the struggle for the liberation of nations when we liberated Czechoslovakia from the deadly embrace of fascism. It has led from the very start the renewal of the economy damaged by the war and gave a clear prospect to the people. Despite all the problems and obstacles, we have built socialism in our country. This justifies our certainly that we will also fulfill our current tasks. The results will be the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development via the restructuring and democratization of all spheres of life of the society. This means that we want to achieve a specific change in the living and working conditions of the people so that they correspond to their demands and wishes.

We know that the extent of change depends on the extent of responsible activity of the broad masses of our people. Specific steps in the sphere of political reform are directed on strengthening democratization as a whole, on deepening the operation of the social system of social justice. We are creating conditions for every one of our country's citizen to have equal prerequisites for the utilization of creative forces and innovative ideas. The changes in our country are not taking place because they serve narrow, momentary interests, but on the basis of a well-thought out approach aiming at the further strengthening of socialism, its possibilities, and attractiveness. Thus, we are concerned about socialism. It is useful, in this connection, to recall aloud again that restructuring has started on the initiative of our party, which is the leading force of the society, not only for its historical contributions, but above all because that, as the only one, it has outlined and asserted the program of the most progressive interests of the working class and all working people, and it unites people in its implementation. From this we draw our optimism; on this we lean in our activity. These are not words, wild dreams, or promises that cannot be fulfilled. The changes in socialist countries offer many useful lessons. In their experiences, we, Czechoslovak Communists, have to be able to orient ourselves well, too. We have to make use of all that is progressive from the Soviet Union. We wish full success to the Soviet restructuring. Everyday we can see how the pace of social development is increasing. The changes which are taking place in our country, the restructuring, are gathering specific speed, so to speak.

Beginning next year, the new economic mechanism will be full functioning. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, the federal government, and the Federal Assembly have discussed for this purpose a number of legislative measures. New state enterprises have been set up; elections of self-administrators and directors have taken place. Collectives of working people, party organs, and party organizations are beginning to get used to the new position in enterprises, to their share of and influence in their development and prosperity. The preparation of the ninth 5-year plan is in the full swing. As it is known, intensive work is in progress on the draft of the new Czechoslovak Socialist Republic constitution.

Comrades, in the capital, Prague, we have advanced significantly in the fulfillment of the conclusions of the city party conference, the seventh, and the follow-up sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee. At the 8th city committee session 6 weeks ago, we noted that the sociopolitical situation in Prague is stable, on the whole. Party organs and organizations and working teams are striving for the implementation of the program of restructuring and democratization. It represents a positive motivation for all the honest inhabitants of Prague, for every true patriot. In party ranks, the necessary change in thinking and acting is gradually taking place. The past weeks and months have confirmed what the absolute majority of inhabitants of Prague prefer: it is the calm, creative, and working atmosphere which allows concentration on the fulfillment of everyday tasks; it is the public order, organization, consistent defense of the socialist social system, isolation of those whose program is the liquidation of values which the working people, under the leadership of the CPCZ, have created.

The present sociopolitical atmosphere has been contributed to by the resolute stands of the party, of individual Communists, and the majority of the Prague working people regarding the attitude towards attempts by opposition groups to destabilize the society and its development. The May and February manifestations of hundreds of thousands of Prague citizens in support of the policy of restructuring, of the party policy and its Central Committee were convincing manifestations of this. The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's appeal on the 41st anniversary of the February victory also brought about a positive social motivation.

The implementation of the conclusions of the municipal district conferences and of the CPCZ city conference has played an important role in the struggle to renew the trust of the people in the communist party's policy, in its program, and in the feasibility of this program. The people of Prague welcomed and endorsed the program which the conference adopted, a program for the moral renewal of the life of the city and for the solution of the everyday problems of its residents. The first half of this year has shown that the decisive indices of the economic plan in Prague enterprises have been fulfilled on the whole. For this, a sincere gratitude goes to working people, too.

It is, therefore, indisputable that the consistent and uncompromising implementation of the adopted program—although not everything is going smoothly and there are a number of problems and obstacles—has a positive influence on the political situation in Prague and in the whole country. This has also been confirmed by the city deliberations of the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Czechoslovak Socialist Party, organizations of trade unions, youth, and women united in the National Front.

The past months have brought a number of proofs of a systematic approach of the party, the city committee, borough committees, and communists in individual places and in national committees of the implementation of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the follow-up CPCZ Central Committee session.

In the city committee we have discussed a number of key issues. These included the assessment of the implementation of the restructuring of the economic mechanism; topical problems of ideological work; the principles, main directions, and goals of the socioeconomic development of the capital city of prague; the master plan [general] for the socioeconomic development of prague up to the year 2005; and the draft principles of a law on the CSSR capital. We have discussed and adopted fundamental positions on the current tasks of environmental policy in prague, as well as on the situation in education and points of departure for the further course of action in education. Weighty conceptual decisions affecting the socioeconomic and everyday life of prague have been made.

The resolute measures taken against various criminal elements have borne the first visible results in terms of the city's improving moral climate. The consistent pressure which party bodies are bringing to bear upon national committees and other institutions in order to solve the problems which stand in the way of a disruption-free operation of the city organism and its structures is moving things forward.

Therefore, we have reason enough to assess the overall situation optimistically. Of course, this does not make us in the least complacent. Everyday work is accompanied by scores of problems. In a number of cases, its results continue to be questionable. At many places, our work still produces virtually no results. Various bodies have made all sorts of promises, but many of them are not being fulfilled. This, too, is true. Many residents of Prague continue to pinpoint shortcomings which embitter their lives, while the responsible officials claim that these shortcomings have been eliminated. It is also true, however, that not every resident of Prague contributes as much as he could to making the number of the city's problems grow smaller. The habit of merely raising demands while remaining idle has become all too ingrained, which breeds a wait-and-see attitude. We realize that it is not easy to be a communist. It has never been easy and it is not easy today. [new graf]

At the same time, it is not only everyday problems, so to speak, which accompany us. It is becoming apparent that many of the things which represent the backbone of restructuring, especially regarding the economic reform, are more complicated than we assumed. The targets concerning the modernization of Prague's industry are hard to enforce and the phasing out and relocation of ecologically and economically undesirable production lines is proving to be even more difficult. We must invest a great amount of energy to make the founders of state enterprises help enforce the new economic mechanism and the reform in its entirety.

In other words, we must still come to terms with many complex issues and new problems. These range from the consistent enforcement of genuine social justice, based on rewarding each individual's specific contribution, to the relatively low level of performance of the national economy or the accumulated environmental problems with all their harmful consequences, down to the automatic provision of social guarantees. To come to terms with these problems, we need a good atmosphere, resourcefulness, and trust.

It is natural that people link the support for the party policy, the commitment and activation on the whole, with the further specific steps in the direction of real changes with which they can meet in their everyday life. Communists and the majority of the public appreciate the party Central Committee's approach and initiative to the understandability of the path towards the solution of problems, towards the renewal and strengthening of the attractivness of socialism in Czechoslovakia. By this, they demonstrate their trust in the party as the leading force of the society, able to assert the set goals. We have seen that working people see the situation both realistically and truthfully; they recognize the fact that socialism in our country has achieved not small results, and they do not want to lose anything from what has been achieved in their living standard. However, a number of other influences affect the people's views and stands. In addition to other things, at the same time there is also a certain discrepancy between the remarkable results of the past years and the unused possibilities and unfulfilled plans. On the one side, this supports the knowledge that we have enough strength for the goals of restructuring, but on the other hand this discrepancy opens up a new type of discussion and questions. The experiences from past reforms are, among other things, also the reason that worries are arising whether all decisions and plans are meant seriously, whether the good intentions will not disappear, dissolve, whether they will be implemented.

We have to say openly on this issue that in the fight for a new program, today's restructuring program, everybody bears his own responsibility—the centrum as well as individual workplaces, every Communist and every citizen. Nevertheless, it is becoming clear that the fighting spirit and enthusiasm in work and party collectives are not always reaching the standard of the time, of its needs.

Matched with the complicated character of issues which we are tackling, progress is characterized by various levels of initiative and commitment by people on every level and, unfortunately sometimes also by lost time. People are being disturbed by attempts to slip in a thesis that the situation and state of our economy are unfavorable to such a degree that we should not for safety's sake let anything out of our hands, that we should not change anything, and look for culprits.

Difficulties arise also from a certain waiting, from not yet totally overcoming the stiffness of economic management, distaste with respecting the objective principles of the world economy efforts to be overcautious, which is being justified by the need for some kind of full and instantaneous certainties for everybody. Without assessing the situation in other places, it is impossible not to see that the process of social thinking is moreover influenced by the development of the situation, especially in Poland and Hungary, which often encourages a conjunctural way of reasoning in our country as well. Some Western representatives raise the development in those countries to a general criterion for assessing the course of reforms and social restructuring in other socialist countries. And the same error of thinking is made also by some of our people.

We want to stress that nowadays the principal question is not to wait for reforms for safety's sake, but to perseveringly fulfill adopted measures. As experiences from some socialist countries show, corrections adopted only under the pressure of crisis moments and created reforms, so to say, upon retreat, lead necessarily to threats to the living standards of working people and to an all-round social crisis.

As you know, we do not want to follow this path, and we will not follow it. Fear and scepticism regarding the developments in the future are, therefore, groundless. The distance which our society has covered since the seventh party Central Committee session shows that the session's conclusions, worked out by the following plenary sessions, have found a good basis in our society, rooted in it, and despite all negative phenomena and difficulties of the period of transition to new conditions and full implementation of restructuring in all spheres of social life, they bear the first good fruit. It is being confirmed also by our experiences in Prague. They show that the way is not to negate Marxism-Leninism, but, on the contrary, that the Czechoslovak way of restructuring—which respects our conditions, the enormous possibilities and great potential of Czechoslovakia, the gathered good as well as bitter experiences, inspiration by the Soviet example—is a creative use of the theoretical richness of Marxism-Leninism in a new quality and in situations which could not have been foreseen by its classics, and therefore not tackled by them.

It is also a period when a new and more demanding level of relations, relations of internationalist character between socialist countries, is being formulated. Their criterion cannot be a grade of disintegration of socialism—as some representatives of Western countries and so-called home opposition would like to see it—but only the fulfillment of a positive program in the interests of working people, in the interest of strengthening foundations and achievements of socialism, and growth of its attractiveness and all-round results. And, therefore, also in this phase of restructuring, an avant-garde mission and demand of more quality of the leading role and influence of Communist Party, the significance of its link with the widest mass of people extraordinarily, grows, doubles. Also a new and qualitatively wider dimension of a unique political platform, tried for decades to unify the initiative of honest people and enable a socialist pluralism of views and interests; the National Front has its significance. We pay to it, in harmony with valid party documents, great attention. Up to now we have not, though, made full use of the possibilities.

Comrades, we speak, as Communists, totally openly about weaknesses, shortcomings, errors, and problems which accompany and often even hinder our efforts. We do not conceal anything from the people. We also do not avoid responsibility. We are glad that a characteristic element of the present situation is the growing interest of people in public affairs. We welcome the fact that indifference of a number of people to policy, policy of the party and socialist state, to what is happening in our society, city, workplace, and place of abode, is disappearing.

We are very well aware of the fact that we cannot progress forward automatically, only through one's own will-power. Success will come with an active participation of people, active and specific work. Therefore, we count on everybody who has honest and sincere intentions to take part in the adopted program. We do not refuse to discuss approaches, variants, and various ways in which to tackle things.

We honestly do a bit of hard thinking about critical views and comments. And in the future we will also continue to make use of public discussions on important documents which influence the life of our society, cities, and inhabitants. We count on discussions and consultations within social organs and organizations. Nevertheless, comrades, the responsibility which we have for the future development of our socialist society forces us to make a strict distinction between the voices and actions of those who help the processes of restructuring and democratization, and those who use these concepts only to disguise their anti-socialist, profit-seeking ambitions and plans. We openly declare that we will not allow a negation of all those good things which have been achieved in this country under the leadership of our party in 45 years since the liberation to become a vogue and starting point for an attack on the party, socialism, honest CPCZ officials, social organizations of the National Front, organs of people's power and state order.

It is not possible to allow, tolerate, nor flirt with proposals linked to negating the results of the Czechoslovak

peoples work. Such a standpoint from us, the standpoint of a firm resolution, is required by Communists, party organizations, and also a majority of citizens in Prague and in our entire country.

This is documented, among other things, by the sharply negative reaction encountered by another pamphlet, the anti-popular circular called "A Few Sentences." We cannot nor need to—unlike Free Europe with its suspicious numbers of signatories—name individuals who reject this new provocative action. We reject the trend itself of circulating petitions. Nor do we want to position our comrades, our honest fellow citizens, as a target for hateful attacks and terrorist threats. I want to say that it is now a wide, growing wave of resistance from the whole Republic. People have recognized very well that the initiators of "A Few Sentences" hide behind their demagogically formulated text. It is a program against restructuring, and therefore a country revolutionary program aimed against socialist society, the party, against achievements made by generations; it is a program of discrediting the development after February 1948, a program of the destruction of socialism in Czechoslovakia.

The view of a hundred thousand work collectives and millions of our citizens stands in opposition to the organizers of anti-popular petitions and lists, which are sometimes falsified.

The working people also condemned some cultural and scientific workers for lending themselves—and still lending themselves—to the propagation of the effort of anti-socialist forces. It does not matter whether they have done it out of naivety—this could be the case—or from opportunism, or that more than one of them needs to be in the spotlight, to have his name known in the world, because his work cannot compete on an international scale. Therefore, they pretend to be heroes, but unfortunately false heroes. The result is the same. They join those whom we have already mentioned.

In the resolutions received by party bodies, at meetings and in letters, people ask: What have the signatories of the pamphlet done in specific terms since the beginning of the restructuring for its successful implementation? Where have they really helped to have things done? What do they live on? On money which they honestly earned, or on grants worthy of Judas, or on what other resources? Who gave them a moral right to trample on everything that has been done in this country through the goodwill, zeal, and selflessness of simple people? Who gave them the right to bring anarchy to our society?

This appeal and other similar initiatives are a part of a transparent strategy. They confirm what we already know: The enemies of socialism and of restructuring activate their forces so they can influence the situation to their benefit. We know that they have their ambitions which they do not hide. The coming anniversary of 21 August 1968 plays its role in their plans. That this is so is shown also by the content of information and appeals which anti-socialist groups are passing on for publication via the media in some West European countries, particularly Radio Free Europe and Voice of America. These are appeals which instigate disorder and destablization, and there is no other way than to give them a proper reply in a political way, in an administrative way, and if it is necessary also in a forceful way [bude li nezbytne i mocensky] in keeping with the valid Czechoslovak law.

With all determination, we declare what they do not like to hear. We refuse to let our republic be undermined. They all must realize this. We, however, believe that the educators, and in particular, parents and colleagues of young people whose youthful political romanticism and inexperience the initiators of the appeals would like to abuse, will see through these plans and will draw the right conclusions for themselves.

Comrades. We do not overrate the activities of anti-socialist elements. We, however, cannot underrate them either, because they aggravate the life of citizens, they do not aid the honest work of the people, and follow aims which are in sharp contradiction with the interest of honest Czechoslovak citizens. We know that working collectives have quite different problems than those which the opposition groups try to present. The patience and tolerance of the society and of relevant bodies do have their limits, however.

We firmly condemn similar practices and leaning upon the stances of the majority of honest citizens, who demand decisive steps, we repeat again: In harmony with the views of the public, it cannot be allowed that the streets of Prague become an arena for the destabilizing forces. I repeat that such measures would be adopted which would ensure that the city lived a normal life in the coming August days and that the good atmosphere and happiness of the people of Prague and the visitors of Prague be guaranteed.

Comrades, we are in the period of preparing for the annual members' meetings and party conferences. The city party committee discussed how to prepare them. The results of its sixth session in February this year are especially important. The session was devoted to discussing an activation of the Prague party organization in the course of securing tasks of restructuring and democratization in preparing annual members' meetings and conferences. The session stressed the need to begin, while preparing annual meetings and deliberations, with a course of high demands, ideological unity, and unity of action to raise the overall influence of the party, of every candidate-member and member of the party. Annual party meetings will naturally have to have a new nature and character. The meetings will, with high responsibility and critical demands, assess the hitherto activities of the entire organization, its every member, workplace, and will set clear and specific tasks for the next period.

We consider it important that party meetings become of interest through their openness, democratic preparation, and course to all work collectives. We are sure that the preparation and course of annual meetings will become a platform for exchanging views, a basis for an open dialogue on qualities of the past period, as well as on the contents and ways of ensuring the new tasks of restructuring and democratization. They will represent an important stage in strengthening the link between workers and the party, gaining their active support for our policy.

Revolutionary time requires from us literally a continuous dialogue within the party, as well as with the people. The party organs and organizations have, therefore, in time and responsibly discussed all important issues. We have to fight energetically for the implementation of adopted resolutions and now especially for the implementation of the program of economic reform. Any kind of hesitation, dragging of feet, and leaving out this and that—omitting something—is a serious error. Let us count on the fact that anti-socialist forces will probably attempt to influence the thinking and acting of communists to distract their attention and the public's attention from the positive program of restructuring, simply to divert preparations of annual members' meetings and conferences, as well as the 18th CPCZ Congress somewhere else. Already these days we have certain proof of this.

We are convinced that a mature aktiv of officials of our entire party will recognize who is who, who aims at what, and what he serves. We express our conviction and have no doubts that an overwhelming majority of candidate-members and members of our party will take a firm stand regarding these initiatives.

Our progress is directly linked with the quality and preparation of cadres on whom we always depended in the past—and now especially will depend—the results of our joint efforts. The times are such that we have to shorten the time for preparing and selecting the cadres. We do not have too many of them, especially in smaller organizations and in home organizations. Therefore, it is necesary to implement with greater consistency in life the conclusions of the seventh CPCU Central Committee session on the improvement of the cadre policy and to contribute to its democratization. What matters is that the evaluation of the cadre issues became the affair of the entire membership base and working collectives.

Our party has no secrets. We should care that workers, young people, and women with the relevant abilities, who are willing to fight to implement the policy of the party in practice, who think and are willing to change the methods and ways of work with regard to the needs and changes in the internal and external conditions, are nominated to higher positions. Let us also care for the necessary continuity, for the connection made between the youth and the lifelong political experience of the older comrades.

The preparation of the content of annual membership meetings is beginning. In the majority of party organizations it is expected that it will be based on the implemented interviews with party members. We will use the knowledge gained in these interviews in the orientation on the fulfillment of the plan of socio-economic development at localities and workplaces, for the preparation and application of the new economic mechanism since January 1990, for the activation of organizations affiliated in the National Front, and for the full development of the activity of the national committees, for the fight for the reinforcement of order and party discipline, of high level of organization, for a moral and political civil unity.

It is natural that the issues of the party's prospects, of its composition, and of the overall improvement of its membership ranks will become a part of the deliberations. We will proceed from the real situation, from the comprehensive approach and specific needs of the party collectives in securing the influence of the party at workplaces and localities. Comrades, in the preparation of annual meeting we emphasize collective spirit. We envisage a greater involvement of party groups, of communists in economic offices, prominent workers and working collectives, and communists in mass organizations of the National Front.

In the preparation of the annual meetings, some questions are still being discussed. Much is said, for example about elections, in particular about street organizations. One thing must be understood: Election is not a single act but a set of activities among which is the selection and preparation of suitable types of people to be candidates for party bodies. To put it simply, an election is a set of activities comprising daily concrete work with the people and their thorough knowledge, as well as the responsibility of higher party organizations for assistance in the selection and preparation of cadres, that is, of the city party committee and of municipal district party committees.

An important step in the preparation of annual meetings, of borough and annual city conferences, of the 18th congress, will be the autumn 9th CPCZ city committee session. On its agenda is the analysis of the implementation of the conclusions of the party city conference from 1988. We envisage that its content and demanding character will create in the city party organization a critical, demanding, and self-critical atmosphere of offensive spirit and creative effort to cope with the tasks, that it will truthfully show how much has been achieved, and that it will provide stimuli for practical activity of the Prague party organization until its conference next March.

Comrades, the Armed Forces play an irreplaceable role in the implementation of the program line of restructuring and of democratization of social life. It is true, particularly about the People's Militia, security forces and, naturally, the Czechoslovak People's Army. They live and work at specific places. Their place is determined by the importance and also by the complexity of changes in all parts of

internal life of the country and often by the contradictory development in the international political area. We support positive results in the promotion of new thinking and in international relations, and we take an active part in their implementation.

As it was however said, anti-socialist forces would like to be parasites on the social development. Their most frenzied attacks are against the People's Militia and the National Security Corps. We are well aware of that. Therefore, the meritorious activity of Armed Forces has had our full support and will have it twice as much in the coming period. We will not permit the discrediting of those people who, disregarding their free time, personal comfort, and often their own safety and health, are always prepared to assume an uncompromising stance against the violators of public order. Comrades, you can count on the full support of city party bodies, of national committees, and of the majority of honest citizens of Prague in the interest of whom you act. This appreciation and support are at the same time an expression of the clear-cut stance of the leadership of our party and the state, which I convey to you in this way.

We appreciate the results attained by the members of our People's Militia. They represent thousands of hours of voluntary building work at a number of city projects and in the fulfillment of economic tasks. In the ranks of the People's Militia are enterprising and responsible party officials, patrons of the young generation. Members of the People's Militia units show in practice that they are a truly reliable action core of party organizations. We positively evaluate the results attained in combat and political preparation, as well as the entire moral and political state of the People's Militia Units. Therefore, it is not accidental that it is the collectives of People's Militia, that it is precisely you, comrades, who are voicing words of a firm stance. You have proven this again during all special measures in the first half of this year.

We know very well how complicated the conditions are in which individual members have often been working. Personal attacks against members of the People's Militia are not unique, as well as politically wrong pressure and mood, in the context of which questions are often asked with regard to the existence of People's Militia, as such. Requests motivated by anti-socialist groups to disband them are not sporadic either. Therefore, we appreciate even more the uncompromising stance of those comrades who are able to act consistently in these complicated conditions, who are able to defend the leading role and the policy of the party, and thoroughly promote the valid Czechoslovak legal code.

It needs to be said that the exacting conditions under which people's militia units work require that party bodies and organizations pay more systematic attention to them and that they appreciate them more. The same applies to managerial staffs. People's militia units usually thrive where there is a good political and economic management, the converse being, of course, also true. The units' functionaries responsible for political work and influence on people's militia members are not isolated in their efforts. In the struggle for people's hearts and minds, we will continue to support the further joining of forces and activation of all party functionaries, primarily from committees of primary organizations. As a matter of fact, this is what the resolution of the CPCZ city committee of 28 February this year instructs us to do. Party committees in enterprises, plants, offices, and institutions in which there are people's militia units must occupy themselves even more with these units' problems and needs. They share responsibility for the units' moral and political condition and for replenishing their numbers. They are answerable for this to the relevant party bodies. The people's militia will continue to stand in the center of the party's attention. Being an active people's militia member is one of the most honorable and responsible party tasks. Militia members are rightly being called upon to operate to a greater extent outside their units. We greatly appreciate good examples of their work, particularly among the young generation. It would be good if now, as preparations for annual meetings are taking place at all levels of the party structure, all people's militia units organized frank and exacting discussions on how to make their activity more effective, how to expand their influence, and how to increase the respect which they command within the sphere of their activity. By no means should people's militia members become active only when the plan or other tasks of their workplace are in jeopardy. The people's militia is an important component which shares in the creation of a positive political climate in Prague and in the country at large. The current time, comrades, will certainly prove again, that the People's Militia will hold out, that they will fulfill the expectation and the trust of the party and the peoples by their firm stance.

For successfully coping with the latest tasks in the area of security, active political work of the party and of all organizations is of exceptional importance. The politically mature attitude to the application of our party's policy and its promotion which was reflected in the way the National Security Corps fulfilled their service duties, contributed considerably to attaining good results.

The membership base of the party is also being successfully improved, with the effective support of party bodies in our city party organizations and in other territorial party bodies. The fact that the majority of the members of the National Security Corps in Prague are members or candidate-members of the party is an important prerequisite for applying the leading role and authority of the party in everyday activity. Communists from the security corps are a firm mainstay. Mutual cooperation of the management of the National Security Corps with the party, state and mass bodies, and organizations in securing party-political and service tasks has deepened. Good results have been attained in active cooperation with the general public, particularly in revealing important criminal activity and increasing the awareness of legal matters by the people. It can be said that the National

Security Corps made an important contribution to the implementation of the program of moral restoration of life in our city, which was adopted by the city party conference in 1988.

We highly appreciate that in keeping with the main aims and tasks for this year, special attention was given to securing calmness and public order in the capital, Prague. This has been very necessary for the overall atmosphere. It is an important condition for a successful course of restructuring and democratization. It required the use of special security forces and means. In addition to the attempts to disturb the public order by acts of pressure or unauthorized assemblies, new illegal phenomena have been occurring recently on an increased scale, such as threatening telephone calls and letters. Their common aim is to create unrest and chaos among the population, to destabilize the socialist system. These events pressingly underlined again the necessity of more effective ideological and political work among our citizens, the young generations but also among the members of the National Security Corps. The past period confirmed again the lasting validity of the political principle of security: of the people and for the people.

Comrades, the conclusions of the party Central Committee session apply also to the National Security Corps members. It appeals to them to improve their ability to act in the work of security bodies on the entrusted territory. The truthful look at the achieved results in the fight against general and economic criminality, particularly crimes against property shows also where we ought to concentrate attention. A very specific binding task has been set in this area in the resolution of the city party conference in Prague. It is right that the service and the political bodies of the corps see as a basic criterion of security work and of the standard of protection of public order, the level of satisfaction of our citizens.

The political maturity, professional preparedness, and overall quality of members of the National Security Corps are reflected in their disciplined and resolute actions in public, and in the standard of behavior toward citizens by members of the corps. It is therefore a permanent task for party, service, and youth union functionaries to attend to the education of National Security Corps members.

At a time when we are fulfilling the tasks of restructuring and democratization, the responsibility of the National Security Corps increases further. The protection of the socialist system and public order, as well as the struggle against crime make it necessary to adapt methods and forms of work to the changing internal and international political conditions in which the implementation of the restructuring of all walks of our life is taking place. We appreciate the fact that communists and service and political functionaries put emphasis on improving managerial work, on reinforcing and upgrading the activity of, above all, the basic police units and other areas of the National Security Corps, and on establishing the appropriate social, material, and technical conditions for the security services' operation. Territorially based party bodies, too, are devoting extraordinary attention to these issues, which are also in the center of attention of the city party committee.

The strengthening of cooperation between all components of the security forces and of their collaboration with national committees and national front organizations is of fundamental importance in the process of improving the performance and overall efficiency of the work of National Security Corps members.

The work of National Security Corps members in our capital often takes place under far more complicated conditions than elsewhere. All the more do we appreciate the good results in the struggle to lower the crime rate, to secure public order on a daily basis, and to protect private and social property. We highly assess those members who, beyond the framework of their professional duties, devote themselves to further political activity in social bodies and organizations, in public offices, and at the place of residence.

The tasks which we are carrying out jointly and which are ahead of us in the coming months are demanding. It can be said that their implementation is in many ways a condition for a successful advancement of restructuring and democratization as we have been carrying it on through the stimulus and under the leadership of our party, the CPCZ. We appreciate your contribution to their implementation. You belong to a prominent aktiv of the party, that work in specially sensitive areas of social life: in most important enterprises of Prague, in the units of People's Militia, in National Security Corps, in the Czechoslovak People's Army. This makes our joint responsibility greater and this increases the demands made on us by the party in the conditions of the capital of CSSR and gives us its full trust: Do let us do our utmost and jointly cope with these tasks.

Comrades, the city CPCZ Committee in Prague is convinced that the time of preparations on the course of annual member meetings and party conferences which will culminate in 18th CPCZ Congress will reinforce the trust of the people in our party and its leading position in society, and that it will be a significant contribution to restructuring and democratization. We recommend that our joint standpoint be expressed in a letter of the leading party aktiv of Prague, People's Militia, National Security Corps, and the Czechoslovak People's Army to the CPCZ Central Committee.

Czech PEN Club Holds First Meeting 1 Aug

AU0408083789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "World of Culture" column]

[Text] The first meeting of the reinstated center of the Czech PEN Club was held in Prague on Tuesday [1 August]. The meeting discussed organizational issues and prospects for its further activity. It approved the enrollment of new members, the establishment of working commissions, and organizational, membership, programmatic, and social questions.

Number of Refugees in FRG Missions Rising
LD0308170689 Hamburg DPA in German 1443 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Excerpt] East Berlin/Budapest (DPA)—The number of GDR refugees wanting to reach the West via FRG diplomatic missions in Budapest, Prague, and now also in East Berlin is evidently still rising, said East Berlin lawyer Wolfgang Vogel today when questioned about taking on the cases of the would-be emigres. He gave no details. Friday's edition of BILD reported that there are currently 80 GDR citizens in Bonn's permanent mission in East Berlin, 20 are in the Prague Embassy, and 130 refugees are in the FRG Embassy in Budapest. It is not known how long the would-be emigres have been in the FRG missions. Vogel's negotiating partner will be Walter Priesnitz, the secretary of state in the Ministry of Intra-German Affairs. In the past, refugees have always had to leave the FRG mission in East Berlin before being given, in some cases, permission to emigrate. The Austrian police have reported that since early May, 237 GDR refugees have arrived in Austria from Hungary. Hungary began dismantling the heavily fortified "Iron Curtain" with Austria at the beginning of May. Hungary is now considering granting the GDR refugees political asylum.

Hungary confirmed the construction of refugee camps today. These "reception camps" had originally been intended for refugees of Hungarian origin from Romania, said Judit Toth, departmental head of the refugee bureau of the Hungarian Ministry of the Interior. These camps were, however, "open to all." Mrs Toth added that in view of the growing number of GDR citizens, Hungary would consider granting them political asylum. GDR citizens could then legally emigrate to the FRG from Hungary. A relevant law had not, however, been passed yet. [passage omitted]

Successes, Challenges of Helsinki Process Viewed
AU0308201689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Aug 89 p 6

[Article by Hajo Herbell: "Helsinki: Successes and Challenges"]

[Text] On 1 August 1975, 14 years ago, the final document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE] was signed in the Finnish capital. The European states, the United States, and Canada set themselves the goal "to better promote relations between one other and to guarantee conditions under which their peoples could live in real and permanent peace, free from any threat to or infringement of their security."

There is no doubt that since then many positive changes have been achieved in this spirit. A change from confrontation to detente and peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders is under way. At the same time, the opponents of this development have increased their activities. One must not ignore the complex context of the Helsinki anniversary in connection with the events of European history and the lessons from this. This day marks the 75th anniversary of the outbreak of World War I. On 1 September it will be 50 years since Hitlerite fascism triggered off World War II. Europe needs nothing more badly than peace for all time.

GDR Supports and Actively Promotes the CSCE Process

The Helsinki Final Act provided the core of the house rules for Europe. It is necessary to further develop these rules and infuse them with life in all spheres. The entire CSCE structure, the follow-up meetings—including Vienna, where it was laid down that every state has the right to freely choose its political order and independently determine its laws and regulations, its policy and practices—have contributed to this process. Helsinki really marked a caesura in European post-war history, namely the departure from the "cold war" toward security and cooperation. This process has to be continued and made irreversible.

This applies in particular to disarmament. It started with the USSR-U.S. treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles. The radical reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments to the level of pure defense capability, and further confidence- and security-building measures are on the agenda of the Vienna talks. NATO should show its readiness to negotiate tactical nuclear weapons simultaneously with the Vienna talks.

As far as detente and disarmament are concerned, our republic, in close alliance with the Soviet Union and the other socialist states, is making a recognized contribution. One only has to think of our initiatives for a corridor free of nuclear weapons, a zone free of chemical weapons, and a zone of trust and security in central Europe. One has to think of our unilateral advance concessions toward reducing troops and armaments.

As far as the GDR is concerned, in this context one can generally stress that it welcomed the Helsinki process from the very beginning and promoted it with all its strength. As Erich Honecker said at the 11th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], the GDR is implementing "the Final Act of Helsinki as a whole, and attaches great importance to the document for further steps toward easing international tensions."

In June 1989 the GDR People's Chamber adopted a statement by all groups for the implementation of the CSCE process. The meeting of the supreme people's representative body proved that, in order to provide for safer peace, our republic is working toward strengthening contacts and political dialogue between East and West. By respecting the legitimate interests of all partners, it supports constructive cooperation with all states—in the political, economic, scientific-technological, and cultural fields in the spirit of the so-called second basket.

In an equally responsible way, the GDR is implementing the agreements in the field of human rights and humanitarian matters—the third basket. Adopted at the Eighth SED Congress in 1971, it is the declared policy of the GDR to do everything for the well-being and happiness of the people, and in the interest of the workers class and all working people. This is why basic human rights are a self-evident reality. Freedom, social justice, the principle of the law-governed state, full employment, and social security guarantee human dignity. These are questions in which we can do without other people's advice, even less so advice from countries where mass unemployment, homelessness, poor education and health standards, hostility toward foreigners, and neo-Nazism are an indication of the great necessity to act in the spirit of Helsinki.

Never Again War From German Soil

The historical importance of the Helsinki conference also lies—and in particular—in the fact that it confirmed the political-territorial realities that resulted from the outcome of World War II and the developments in the post-war era. Mutual recognition of sovereignty, territorial integrity, and respect for the different nature of the political, economic, and social systems of the participating states are the pillars of the European home.

The existence of the two sovereign German states, which emerged 40 years ago and which are independent of one other, is an indispensable element of the European state of peace. It is along their border that the main military powers of NATO and Warsaw Pact face one another. This is why, in the interest of Europe, but not only of Europe alone, the GDR has stressed the inviolability of this border.

One must continue to recognize what was laid down in the joint communique during Erich Honecker's visit to the GDR in 1987, namely that, considering the responsibilities that have resulted as a consequence of their joint history, the GDR and the FRG have to make special efforts for peaceful coexistence in Europe. War must never again emanate from German soil, but only peace.

Strict Respect for Existing Borders

For the sake of truth one has to mention here that influential forces in the West are obstructing the process of recovery which was initiated in Helsinki.

It is not conducive to security and cooperation when NATO, which at the Brussels summit somehow approached the positions of the Warsaw Pact, maintains its strategy of nuclear deterrence, and when tactical nuclear weapons are not eliminated, but modernized.

It does not serve security and cooperation when NATO's secretary general openly challenges the status quo and announces "a new political order for Europe" as his objective. Efforts by Western politicians to exert pressure on socialist countries and to make them adopt capitalist views of society obviously also have this objective. Under the banner of the "renewal" of socialism, there are forces at work that pursue their old class objective, namely to eliminate socialism.

Is it not all too typical of such an attitude that just a few weeks before the 50th anniversary of the beginning of World War II, people in the FRG, and even members of the government, declare that the German Reich did not come to an end, but that it has to be reestablished within its borders of 1937. However, as is generally known, this involves territorial claims against the Polish People's Republic and the USSR. This signifies a direct blow against Helsinki and against European realities, whose recognition represents the most important premise for security and cooperation.

How one can act in the spirit of Helsinki today is reflected by the recent meeting of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee in Bucharest. In its declaration "for a stable and secure Europe, free from nuclear and chemical weapons, for a considerable reduction in armed forces, armaments, and military spending" this body made direct references to the final document. As the basis for mutual understanding and cooperation, it emphasized the strict respect for the sovereignty and equal rights of all states, non-interference in domestic affairs, inviolability of existing borders, and the states' territorial integrity.

The meeting referred to halting the arms race and to disarmament as objective and necessary conditions for eliminating the danger of nuclear or even "only" conventional war. Our countries demand the reduction of armaments to a level at which the danger of war can ultimately be eliminated.

The meeting has called for convening a conference of the highest representatives of the 35 CSCE participating states to discuss the results that have been achieved and to outline future tasks. One can only hope that there will be a constructive reply to this appeal.

No Alternative to Cooperation in the Nuclear Age

Reviewing the European scene 14 years after Helsinki one can note that the vitality of the CSCE process and the viability of the policy of peaceful coexistence have stood the test. However, it has also become apparent that favorable developments in international relations do not emerge by themselves. They require a policy that is at the same time firmly based on principles, flexible, and patient. In the nuclear age there is no alternative to cooperation between East and West and the security that was agreed upon by all sides. It requires reason and realism on the part of all sides involved to preserve and enhance what has developed since 1 August 1975.

Helsinki marked a big step forward, but much remains to be done. The GDR is approaching its 40th year with successes in domestic and foreign policies. The 12th SED

Congress will determine the GDR's further course. Our country was, is, and remains a reliable and predictable partner for all those who desire peace, security, and cooperation in Europe.

Mueckenberger Meets Friendship Society Officials
AU0308145689 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Meeting Between the Chairmen of Friendship Societies; Erich Mueckenberger Received a Delegation From Poland"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and president of the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society, received a delegation of the main executive board of the Polish-Soviet Friendship Society, headed by its chairman Henryk Bednarski, member of Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party, for a talk in Berlin. The guest reported on the situation in the Polish People's Republic and the activities of the Polish Friendship Society. Erich Mueckenberger explained the contribution made by the GDR-Soviet Friendship Society to the commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the founding of the GDR and the preparation of the 12th SED Congress.

During the meeting, measures to continue the close cooperation were discussed. The necessity to take joint action against neo-Nazism, which is spreading in the FRG and in Berlin (West) and constitutes a serious danger for the European peoples, and to fight together against all attempts at revising the borders that were created in Europe after World War II was especially stressed.

FDJ Deputy Views Parliamentarians' Meeting
AU0308104889 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "Chairman of the FDJ Group in the People's Chamber; GDR Youth Will Commemorate Victims of World War II; Young Parliamentarians Participate in Warsaw Meeting on 50th Anniversary of Fascist Attack"]

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Hans-Joachim Willerding, chairman of the Free German Youth [FDJ] Group in the GDR People's Chamber, was interviewed on the forthcoming 50th anniversary of the start of World War II on the "Aktuelle Kamera" television newscast:

Question: Comrade Willerding, a meeting of young parliamentarians from East and West on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the fascist attack is certainly not a meeting between historians. In which way will these young people deal with this great historical topic?

Willerding: We gladly accepted the invitation which Poland's Sejm extended to young parliamentarians in all CSCE states to come to Warsaw on 30 August, 31 August, and 1 September on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the start of World War II. Of course we will not deal with the issue as historians, but we—young deputies in the highest legislative assemblies of our countries—want to commemorate above all the many victims of the predatory fascist war. However, in the first place we want to consider the contribution that can be made by young people, primarily those in parliaments, to preventing a repetition of such a catastrophic development. [passage omitted]

Question: Will there also be further activities of our youth association on a national level before 1 September?

Willerding: The young people of our country, above all the FDJ members, will commemorate the 50th anniversary of the start of World War II in various ways. [passage omitted]

I want to stress such an important event as the international colloquium on this topic which we are preparing with the young socialists' working group of the Social Democratic Party of Germany and our fraternal associations in the Polish People's Republic and in the CSSR and to which we want to invite several other youth organizations from European countries. We will organize an antifascist youth march in the GDR in the fall, and I believe that this is a very topical issue in this context.

Question: Especially recently, the memory of 1 September 1939 has been considerably damaged west of the Elbe River. Is the FDJ also dealing with this?

Willerding: Yes, of course. We are very much concerned—the antifascist youth march is the keyword—that west of our borders neo-Nazi tendencies are increasing again. [passage omitted]

One of the great lessons of the past 40 years has been that the demand for revising the borderlines on our European continent actually means promoting neo-Nazism and militarism, and therefore, in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act, we advocate the recognition of political realities on our continent with all our power. We also support this in practice.

Mueller, SED Delegation Pay Visit to Iraq
AU0308143989 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Aug 89 p 5

[ADN report: "SED Delegation Attends Funeral Ceremonies for Michel Aflaq"]

[Text] Baghdad (ADN)—A delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], headed by Werner Mueller, member of the SED Central Committee, participated in the funeral ceremonies for Michel Aflaq, founder and general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party in Baghdad. It had been invited by the Iraqi regional leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party.

During their meeting with Jassim al-Riqabi [spelling as published], director of the International Relations Department of the Iraqi regional leadership of the Ba'th Party, the partners in the talk agreed that the constructive continuation of the talks between Iraq and Iran, which had been mediated by the United Nations, is of decisive importance for the creation of stable peace in the Gulf region. Both sides stressed that the traditional relations between the GDR and the Republic of Iraq form a solid basis for the continuation and deepening of mutually advantageous cooperation for the benefit of the two peoples and states.

Editorial Criticizes Glotz-Schoenhuber Discussion

AU0308163489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1 Aug 89 p 2

[Editorial by "HE": "Mr Glotz Plays Down the Danger of Neo-Nazis"]

[Excerpts] Mr Glotz, a leading politician of the Social Democratic Party of Germany, has deemed it advisable to make common cause with Franz Schoenhuber, the chief of the neo-Nazi Republicans, and this in a discussion in the Springer paper DIE WELT yesterday [31 July]. [passage omitted]

Glotz is having no difficulty at all in playing down and minimizing neo-Nazism in an incredible way: Schoenhuber, the SS-man from Adolf Hitler's Leibstandarte [elite troop] is not a fascist. That SS-man at the top of the "Republicans" who publicly propagate Nazi ideology, who grieve over the loss of their "Fuehrer's Reich", and would like to restore it at least within the 1937 borders, who babble about "keeping the German blood clean and about the German people's soul," and instigate mindless xenophobia—this Schoenhuber is not a neo-Nazi? He, who reviled the Central Council of Jews in Germany as the "fifth occupying power," and demands that one cannot "burden" every new generation with "the events" (!) between 1933 and 1945—he is not a Nazi, but a populist, a popular man of the people, so to speak, who could form a party which would fit into the FRG landscape well enough, and would thus certainly also be constitutional?

Does Glotz hold his unbelievable views, because his memory of history has totally failed him? Does he not know that it all began in this way? That the Hitler fascists were just a small clique in the beginning? That even their putsch of 1923 failed? At that time, people said that they did not represent a danger. [passage omitted]

No, what we read on the pages of Springer's DIE WELT, is an unscrupulous and dangerous playing down of the danger of Neo-Nazis. Neo-Nazis, not populists! It would well befit every West German democrat to call things by their proper name, and to listen to the warnings that are voiced everywhere, including in the FRG—stop the Neo-Nazis! The Republicans must be fought!

SED Issues Secret Guidelines on Shortcomings

AU0308114889 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 3 Aug 89 p 3

[Peter Probst report: "SED Leadership Openly Admits Economic Bottlenecks"]

[Excerpt] East Berlin—The GDR leadership is now seeking refuge in attack: Economic difficulties and bottlenecks in the country's supply should be openly admitted in the future. The party's kreis leaderships were informed on a confidential basis of a corresponding resolution of the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED]. In addition, local officials were instructed to no longer ignore difficulties and to take seriously critical remarks from the population.

Leading journalists received secret argumentation guidelines and were instructed to report on supply shortages in the state-controlled media and to criticize those responsible. Thus, the party and the state are reacting to growing dissatisfaction among the population with continuing bottlenecks in the areas of vegetables, industrial goods, and spare parts, as well as in the service sector. By opening this "valve," the SED not only wants to respond to criticism of shortcomings but also to calls within its own ranks for the introduction of elements of a market economy. [passage omitted]

Romania Protests Hungarian Television Interview

LD0308171889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Romania is summoning home its ambassador in Budapest for consultation. It is also withdrawing its invitation for a Hungarian council delegation to visit Romania. These measures protest Hungarian Television's Monday [31 July] broadcast of an interview with former Romanian King Michael. The Bucharest Government believes the statement was anti-Romanian, anti-socialist, fascist, and contained direct attacks on Romania's independence and sovereignty.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry has now announced that before the interview was broadcast, Romania had taken diplomatic steps to prevent broadcasting the former king's statement. It had done so without knowing the interview's contents. At this time, the Budapest Foreign Ministry said that our country's information policy did not make it possible to withdraw the broadcast.

After the interview was broadcast, the Hungarian Foreign Affairs Ministry resolutely rejected the Romanian protests. It reiterated its stand that the Romanian attitude is unacceptable, that it evaluates certain manifestations of mass communications as an official Hungarian stand, and that this is used as a pretext for a further narrowing of bilateral relations. It is especially regrettable, emphasizes the Foreign Ministry statement, that Romania has now nullified the sole concrete agreement in which the new Hungarian leadership had recently managed to reach agreement in Bucharest with the Romanian side.

Foreign Ministry Communique

LD0308212189 Budapest MTI in English 1748 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 3 (MTI)—MTI news agency has been authorized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to publish the following communique:

"In the wake of the announcement by Hungarian television to show an interview with deposed King Michael of Romania, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Romanian Socialist Republic took diplomatic steps both in Bucharest and Budapest to prevent the broadcast of the interview without knowledge of its content.

"On the basis of Hungarian information policy, the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs told the Romanian side that it was not in its power to grant the request.

"After the television programme 'Panorama' of July 31, which included the interview, the Romanian side launched a second protest which specified the contents of the interview. They claimed the interview included anti-Romanian, anti-socialist and fascist type attacks against the independence and sovereignty of Romania. They announced that because of the interview Romania would be cancelling a prepared invitation of a Hungarian council delegation to Romania, and calling home the Romanian ambassador to Hungary for consultation.

"The Foreign Ministry of the Hungarian People's Republic explicitly rejected the Romanian practice of regarding certain manifestations of the mass media as the official Hungarian position and using it as an excuse for further narrowing bilateral relations.

"It is particularly regrettable that Romania has cancelled the only agreement which the new Hungarian leadership has recently managed to make with the Romanian side in Bucharest.

"The Hungarian side has again informed the Romanian officials that Hungary still maintains its proposals aimed at normalizing the relations between the two countries and is prepared to hold genuine talks on all issues that aggravate relations.

"Budapest, August 3, 1989."

Zala County Leaders Talk With Nyers, Grosz

LD0308230489 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Excerpts] In Budapest, Zala County's brand new party leaders have met the leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP]. Rezso Nyers and Karoly Grosz were able to gain firsthand information on how the professional political platform lost in Zala, and how the Reform Circles won. Zoltan Rudi spoke to Laszlo Vari after the talks, as he was leaving MSZMP Headquarters. He is not the MSZMP county secretary in Zala, but according to the new structure, the chairman of the county steering committee.

[Begin recording] [Rudi] In your statement to today's ESTI HIRLAP, you said you are from the Nyers-type reform school. Did this conversation now with Rezso Nyers and Karoly Grosz proceed in this tone?

[Vari] As in a real political party, the representatives of a new structure, the county leadership, and the leadership of the party have met.

[Rudi] Did you receive encouragement, or what kind of direction did you get, if this can be called direction at all?

[Vari] This was not direction, but sincere, human, party leadership and friendly advice, concern, commitment to success too, and encouragement. We should try it out. If the party membership has decided this, if it has taken the directing of its fate into its own hands in Zala County, then try this out.

[Rudi] When our station's car stopped here in front of the party headquarters, the guard tried to caution us away from the building. I hear you all have no guards anymore.

[Vari] In Zalaegerszeg, the headquarters of the county party steering committee does not belong to the apparatus but to the county party membership, that is to the people who are committed left-wing thinkers and to every person who wishes to proceed with us for a democratic Hungary.

[Rudi] As of dawn on Sunday, you are the party leaders in Zala County. What concrete measures have happened in these few days?

[Vari] We are convening the steering committee for next week to be able to demonstrate that this structure is capable of functioning. From 1 August, we have (?opened) an election office and we are planning to set up an office to construct inter-party, party relations. Parallel with this, the formation of work committees is also underway. [passage omitted] [end recording]

We would have naturally liked to speak to our members of the MSZMP Presidium. The interview has not taken place, through no fault of our own, because the Presidium members have not yet decided whether they will speak about their impressions to the media.

Nyers Views Party Strategy, Democratic Socialism
LD0408090989 Budapest MTI in English
0740 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 4 (MTI)—What should the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party [HSWP] be building its strategies on, for achieving success at the forthcoming national elections?—was one of the questions put to Rezso Nyers, president of the HSWP, in the editorial office of the party daily "NEPSZABADSAG", during his Thursday visit there.

Our message should be founded on the idea of democratic socialism, Mr Nyers pointed out. This does not simply represent a trend of social democratic character. We represent the democratic socialism in our concept. It is our intention to form a wide leftist platform, according to the Western European ideas, founding on the principle of the people's interest.

The use of the terminology of democratic socialism is justified by our intention to distance ourselves from the stalinist model, Mr Nyers continued. The idea of distancing ourselves also emerges in such a way that we would set up a new reform party at the forthcoming congress by doing away with existing extremes. It will be the new party programme that will actually put the question to members of the party whether they are ready to support the new HSWP or not.

In this connection we should first clearly define our relation to the communist character of the party.

In conclusion it was asked from Mr Nyers whether the HSWP was past the period of seeking for the right political system.

"Yes, we are. A proof of this is that we have accepted the ideas of the market economy, parliamentarism and socialist policy. These clearly signify that we are not in the process of re-capitalisation, or the creation of a capitalist type of market economy. This process can be best characterised by stating that we are advancing on a democratic road towards a perspective socialism," Mr Nyers concluded.

The interview is published in the Friday issue of "NEPSZABADSAG".

Opposition Views on Political Coordinating Talks
LD0308021789 Budapest MTI in English
1912 GMT 2 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 2 (MTI)—Representatives of the opposition roundtable held a press briefing in Budapest on Wednesday on the positions they stand for in the working committees of the political coordinating talks.

Gabor Fodor, of the opposition round table's press committee, criticized the HSWP for not publicizing the political coordinating talks between the opposition round table, the HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] and the third side despite a preliminary agreement to this effect.

Evaluating the work of the working committee in charge of the Constitution, the roundtable claimed that with the introduction of the post of president of the HSWP would be able 'to hide behind a democratically elected leader and preserve some of its power'.

The representative of the working committee preparing the legal regulation for the operation of parties said they were not holding negotiations at present, as the HSWP claims it has accumulated its wealth in the course of the past four and a half decades in a legal manner, can only be called to account by its membership, and no party or social organizations can set any claim. The roundtable says the HSWP will not be able to maintain this opinion before the (?public).

Members of the roundtable in the working committee in charge of the electoral law passed a decision after long debate that at the parliamentary elections, one half of the MPs [members of parliament] should be elected by an individual election system, while the other half of MPs would enter parliament by a direct vote for parties. The HSWP claims that only 20 per cent of MPs can enter by a listing system.

Roundtable members in the working committee discussing the question of openess said a new press law should be made to supervise national institutions, and a parliamentary committee should undertake to ensure impartiality. They were of the opinion that there are no guarantees that in the period running up to the elections, the political forces will have equal access to the mass media.

Several participants pointed out that it was natural for the organizations comprising the opposition roundtable to have differing views and debates, but the opposition proved in the course of the negotiations that they think in terms of national interests and are capable of united action. They added that this was not the case with the HSWP. Almost every organization of the roundtable presented a competent group which would be viable should the opposition form a government, they said.

Sejm Session Held 2 Aug; Leaders Debate Issues

Kiszczak Nomination Discussed

LD0308205489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0742 GMT 2 Aug 89

[From the relay of the 2 August morning sitting of the Sejm in Warsaw: debate on the election of the chairman of the Council of Ministers, chaired by Sejm speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, with the participation of Deputy Marian Orzechowski, speaking for the Polish United Workers Party; Deputy Bronislaw Geremek, speaking for solidarity; Deputy Bentkowski, speaking for the United Peasants' Deputy (?Janowski), speaking for the Democratic Party; and Deputy Antoni Furtak, speaking for Solidarity—live]

[Excerpts] [Kozakiewicz] The first to speak will be Deputy Marian Orzechowski.

[Orzechowski] Mr Speaker! May it please the House, the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] parliamentary floor group has supported and invariably continues to support the formation of a government of national accord and reconciliation, a grand coalition government. That would be in accordance with the will and feelings of the decisive majority of our society. Unfortunately, so far the materialization of this idea has proven impossible. All those who reject this great national opportunity act taking a great responsibility upon themselves, irrespective of the motives by which they are guided.

May it please the house, we all are aware of the dramatic nature of the country's economic situation and the strength of sociopolitical tensions. We also are aware of the enormity of the tasks—their degree of difficulty and the extent of the responsibility—the new premier and his cabinet will face. In conditions of pluralism, which is ever more actively developing in our country, and the advancing democratization in every field of national life, the new premier has to be open to differentiation in society which also is manifested in a divergence of interests and political orientations. Consequently, he has to have conciliatory abilities. He has to be able to reach compromises, which the country needs, among all the political forces represented here in parliament. However, he also has to manifest resolve and consistency in his actions, meaning those qualities a shortage of which we have been feeling so keenly in the life of our whole country and in the work of so many institutions and organizations.

The PZPR parliamentary group shares the belief of the president of the Polish Peoples Republic that General Czeslaw Kiszczak meets these criteria. Czeslaw Kiszczak was born in Roczyny, Bielsko-Biala Voivodship, to a peasant family. During the Nazi occupation, he actively participated in the resistance. After the liberation, he started service in the Polish People's Army. He held many important offices there, always manifesting exceptional selflessness and industry, high self-discipline and organizational abilities. Since 1981, he has been heading the internal affairs sector. He was also the chairman of the Council of Ministers' Committee for the Observance of Law, Public Order, and Discipline. What especially needs to be emphasized here, in the house, is Czeslaw Kiszczak's consistency in seeking roads to national accord. An expression of this, among other things, was his role in bringing about the roundtable talks and the subsequent settlements which are the basis of the present House's existence and work. It was as a result of the roundtable settlements that the foundations of a new political, economic, and social order were created, which enable various political forces to participate actively and on an equal footing in the political and public life and to share in decision-making on all matters concerning our homeland's present and future. Consequently, entrusting Czeslaw Kiszczak with the post of prime minister, the chairman of the Council of Ministers, provides guarantees for a continuation of the transformations in every field of public life which follow from the roundtable settlements, transformations—I would like to emphasize this very strongly—in conditions of social dialogue, social accord and stability of our state structures.

The PZPR parliamentary floor group supports Czeslaw Kiszczak's candidacy for the office of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic in the belief that it will meet with acceptance from the deputies who form the coalition, as well as with sympathetic reception from the deputies of citizens' parliamentary floor group.

[Kozakiewicz] Thank you, Deputy Orzechowski. Next to speak will be Deputy Bronislaw Geremek.

[Geremek] Mr Speaker! May it please the House, the citizen's parliamentary floor group is going to vote against Mr Czeslaw Kiszczak's candidacy for the office of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. We are against this candidacy not because he is the head of the internal affairs sector, whose customers this side of the chamber have been so many times. We also know from the events of the last few months that Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak knows how to be a negotiator and how to conduct dialogue with people from the other side of ideological and political barricades. We also appreciate the words we heard in the statement concerning the continuation of the philosophy of the roundtable and today's forecasts. We are against this candidacy because no personnel reshuffles within the existing political arrangements defined by the monopoly of one party can solve the country's problems. We consider that in the country's present situation, you cannot make changes by continuing with things past, that an interruption, a sharp interruption, is necessary, one that would show clearly that we have come to the building in Wiejska Street—and I would like to be able to say that that is why all of us have come here—in order to change things.

Yesterday, along with the senators and deputies of our parliamentary floor group, I was at both Powazki cemeteries. I thought to myself that our reception contained a

great deal of confidence and a great many expectations, expectations resulting from the grievances of these old men who gave their lives to Poland and now, as they say, cannot survive on a Z30,000 pension, and from the grievances of young people, who in scout uniforms mounted the guard and who are not leaving their country, but for whom this country is becoming a stepmother country.

I think that from the way we occupy the seats in the chamber there may be a will for change on all sides of the chamber, but we believe that if this change is to measure up to the Polish situation there have to be changes in the way power is exercized. The political monopoly of one party running the country has to be abandoned and broken. It does not serve the country. That is why we consider that with the necessary minimum of confidence, the Polish opposition is capable of building a program for change and of implementing this program. Lech Walesa's statement clearly asserted that the Polish opposition, in all its variety, awaits profound structural changes, that the Polish opposition was ready to form a government that will measure up to the tasks facing the country, and that it was ready to take on the responsibility not only for the hard and difficult destiny of leading the country out of the crisis, but also for changing the way power is exercised because without this change the situation of the country will not be able to improve. In a responsible manner and with an awareness of reality, we are capable of forming a government of national salvation, one that will be appropriate equally for all the tasks, public needs, and expectations. That would mean that we would be able to say that we have to continue with and preserve that which we have to preserve and that we have to change all that which can be changed. Such a government of change would be an opportunity for the country. It is this, precisely this, which explains why the citizens' parliamentary floor group is going to vote against the submitted candidacy. [applause]

[Kroszkiewicz] Thank you, Citizen Deputy. [passage omitted] Deputy Bentkowski is to speak.

[Correspondent Tomaszewski] Deputy Bentkowski is the chairman of the United Peasant's Party [PSL] parliamentary floor group.

[Bentkowski] Mr Speaker! May I please the House, yesterday, speaking from this lectern, I made a statement on behalf of the PSL parliamentary floor group. I said that our parliamentary group, our party, held the view that this country could be saved only by a grand coalition government, a government the majority of ministers in which would be from the PZPR and the citizens parliamentary floor group. We were basing this on our deep belief that the lower coalition was not producing guarantees for a stable government. We have not changed our position, we believe that it is so. At the same time, we consider that not everything has been done to form this grand coalition government. For these reasons, our parliamentary floor group is not going to be unanimous in the vote. Nevertheless, considering that we are members of the coalition, the majority of our deputies is going to support this candidacy.

However, in this chamber yesterday there was an incident toward which we, the peasants' representatives, cannot remain indifferent. Yesterday in this chamber Kazimierz Olesiak, deputy prime minister in the outgoing government and our colleague, was insulted. He was publicly accused of lying. This was done by a deputy from the citizens' parliamentary floor group. All of our deputies feel insulted by this allegation. Even the speaking deputy's complete ignorance does not justify his behavior. We expect, and here I am addressing the chairman of the citizens' parliamentary floor group, Professor Bronislaw Geremek, that this slander will be publicly retracted. [applause] We do not want to turn this chamber, which is the showpiece of our whole society, into a street market. We expect the gentleman who publicly made the allegation to apologize to Mr Olesiak in public and thereby to all of us. Thank you. [applause]

[Kroszkiewicz] Thank you very much. [passage omitted]

[Tylanowski] Mr Speaker! May it please the House, today we face another duty in fulfilling the Sejm's statutory powers, connected with elections the chairman of the Council of Ministers. The need to appoint a prime minister is all the more important because the catastrophic economic situation allows no further delay in making this decision. As deputies, we have to be aware that our state can function efficiently only when it has a government. As the Democratic Party [SD], we have spoken in favor of a grand coalition government, in which the opposition would have a significant share. Since that is impossible, we have to form a lower coalition government which through its undertakings will bring about events easing the Poles' daily life. We believe that this government should be based on the best elements from the programs of all political and social forces represented in the parliament. It seems to me from the statement heard today from the candidate for prime minister that these conditions will be fulfilled. This will give us a chance and the ability to emerge from an extremely difficult situation. We hope that on issuing rule for the work program of the government to be formed will be played by the resolutions of the 14th [SD] Congress. The SD parliamentary floor group believes that Czeslaw Kiszczak's candidacy for prime minister will measure up to these expectations and the majority of the group, a significant majority, is going to vote for the candidacy. [applause]

[Kroszkiewicz] Thank you very much. Does anybody else wish to speak on behalf of the parliamentary floor groups? I do not have anyone. I have only one more

request here, which says that a deputy who unfortunately did not give his name wants to respond to the protest from Deputy Bentkowski. Go ahead, please.

[Furtak] Deputy Anton Furtak. Mr Speaker! May it please the House, I would like to state that my intent in speaking here yesterday was not to insult Premier Oleksik. That was not my intention. However, as far as the substance of the matter is concerned, I stand by my position. [uproar]

[Kozakiewicz] Mr Bentkowski! Would everyone please take their seats, as we are to start voting on the candidate for the office of the chairman of the Council of Ministers. [continuing uproar] Could we have order in the chamber, please? [passage omitted]

Siwicki Speaks on Airspace Violations

LD030809 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 2 Aug 89

[From relay of Sejm session in Warsaw chaired by Speaker Mikolaj Kozakiewicz—live]

[Text] [Kozakiewicz] I inform the esteemed chamber that the Sejm Presidium has conveyed to the addressee deputies' interpellations from the following deputies. I read the [text] of the first interpellation. Deputies Adela Dankowska, Henryk Sienkiewicz, and Adam Matuszczak, in their interpellation directed to the minister of national defense, state that the collision of a military plane of the Soviet Army with a glider on 5 July this year in Lubin is confirmation of the frequent breaking of flying regulations by foreign military planes. The authors of the interpellation state that, particularly in southwestern Poland, accidents, violation of the airspace of civilian airports, violation of the minimum flying height, and exceeding the sound barrier at low altitudes take place, constituting a danger for civilian aircraft. The deputies are asking how the responsible authorities intend to eliminate the threatening dangers. To give a reply to the interpellation, and to questions submitted by citizen Deputies Adam Grabowski, Andrzej Olechnik, and Edmund Krackowski and a group of deputies at a meeting of the Sejm on 30 July 1989, Minister of National Defense General Florian Siwicki will take the floor.

[Siwicki] Citizen Speaker, esteemed chamber. It is my duty to reply to an interpellation submitted by citizen Deputies Adela Dankowska, Henryk Sienkiewicz, and Adam Matuszczak and questions of citizen deputies Adam Grabowski and Andrzej Olechnik with regard to the violation of flying regulations in the airspace of the Polish People's Republic by military planes of the Soviet Army. Before I go over to a substantive reply, please allow me, esteemed chamber, to give several pieces of more general information connected to the subject under discussion.

Affairs of the temporary presence and the legal status of Soviet forces in Poland is regulated by an international agreement, concluded between the Government of the Polish People's Republic and the Soviet Government on 17 December 1956, and ratified on 27 February 1957. This agreement is published in the Official Gazette No 29 of 29 May 1957. In practice, all matters concerning the temporary presence of Soviet forces in Poland are the responsibility of the plenipotentiary of the Government of the Polish People's Republic for issues concerning the presence of the Soviet forces in Poland. Within the range of his activity is the competent handling of current matters connected with the presence of the Soviet forces in Poland. Within the powers of the minister of national defense is to be found the sphere of cooperation with units of the northern army group of the Soviet Army in the problem area of the training of the armies and staffs conducted on Polish territory.

Referring to the interpellations and questions, I inform you that the scope of Polish and Soviet jurisdiction in relation to personnel of Soviet military units in Poland was defined by an agreement with legal status and legal relations in civilian, family, and penal cases signed on 28 December 1957. In accordance with this agreement, the Government of the Soviet Union gave an obligation to compensate the Government of the Polish People's Republic for material damage caused to the Polish state, Polish institutions and citizens, or citizens of third states present on Polish territory. The Soviet side is obliged to compensate damage within 3 months, counting from the day of the passing of judgement by a mixed commission, or from the court's verdict coming into force. As [illegible] spares from the information of the director of the office of the government plenipotentiary for matters concerning the presence of Soviet forces in Poland, damage resulting from activities, or from desisting from activities by military units, are compensated or removed by the Soviet side.

With regard to the cited examples, let me explain that, after the dropping and explosion of a missile in the region of Wilkowo on 13 May 1987, after the evaluation of the losses arising by the State Insurance Office [PZU] commission, as a first stage, the Soviet side refunded 280 million[illegible]. Within the framework of this sum, damages were compensated at 21 farms, which included the rebuilding of farm buildings of the Cooperative members. In the second stage, damage at 13 farms was evaluated, since then [illegible] came forward later. As of today, eight farmers have received compensation in monetary form, and at five farms, the repair of outbuildings has begun, with a realization work completion by 30 August this year.

After the explosion of bombs on 13 May 1984 on the territory of the railway station in the Powiatowa, the construction services of the northern army group of the Soviet Army, and the PZU specialists undertook [illegible] eliminating the damage. All damage was removed. The [illegible] of the collision of the Soviet military plane with a glider of the Lubin air club was examined by a

commission of the Ministry of Transport, Shipping and Communications. Taking part in the investigation were our military specialists and the military prosecutor's office. The commission established, as we already know from the press communique, that the cause of the accident was the violation of air traffic regulations by Captain Igor Mishichenko, the Soviet pilot of the (?124) plane, based on a violation of airspace over an airport used by the Lubin air club. After the commission's pronouncement, legal proceedings will begin bringing those responsible for the tragedy before the public prosecutor's office. However, the PZL will embark upon defining and paying out for material damages, which the Soviet side will refund to Poland.

As no doubt the citizen deputies noticed, on 10 July I was not present at the Sejm meeting during the submission of questions addressed to me. This absence was caused by a meeting with the commander in chief of the Soviet Air Force, Air Marshal Yefimov, who came to Poland to examine on the spot problems connected with the Lubin tragedy. He personally expressed his regret for this tragic accident. Discussing with the marshal the danger to the population living in the vicinity of the air testing range at Przemkow—the population living in the vicinity of the testing range there—I suggested that the Soviet side currently restrict exercises with the use of combat weapons to the essential minimum in this area. The marshal promised, as a result of our postulates, to conduct an analysis of the possibility of totally desisting from air exercises on the Przemkow testing range and eliminating this testing range as an area for exercises using air combat weapons. I think that there is a chance, in a short time, to realize this need to ensure the safety of the population living in the vicinity of this testing range.

I also wish to inform the esteemed chamber that on this occasion another problem was solved. On the resolution, which I formulated on the basis of postulates from the electorate of the Kwidzyn Voivodship, Marshal Yefimov agreed to the withdrawal, already in the current month, that is August, of the air force group from Krzesiny, whose training is highly onerous for the inhabitants of this city and its environs, and to equipment relaying there. At the airport under discussion, only a glider subunit will remain, with clearly restricted flying space.

Esteemed chamber, I wish to emphasize that our regulations carefully regulate the principles of the exploitation of air space for conducting flights and they ensure the safety of air traffic. The source of danger ought to be perceived chiefly in the violation of established principles and conditions for conducting flights by underexperienced air space users which unfortunately occurs.

For example, during 1988 11 cases of indiscipline among flying personnel were recorded. There were dependent [illegible] the basis in force, noncompliance with the flight principles to airspace and encroaching into zones which were forbidden and dangerous. In this way they violated the regulations of air traffic: the pilots from the Polish People's Republic Air Force once, the pilots from the air force of the Soviet Army's auxiliary forces four times, and pilots from the civilian air force eight times.

In the first half of this year there have already been 11 cases of indiscipline among pilots, with all the necessary circumstances to cause a catastrophe: among them in the Polish Army there were three such cases, in the Soviet Army's auxiliary forces four cases, and four cases in the civilian air force. At the same time I wish to communicate that we always analyze cases of infringements of traffic regulations with great care and conclusions are consistently implemented. Those who are guilty of infringements always bear the consequences.

Thus pilots' uncompromising adherence to established flying conditions takes on particular significance. Safety in the vicinity of airports and flying clubs is ensured by the principle that planes belonging to flying clubs can, over an agreed area, fly at a height of up to 1,500 meters without restrictions and overcome the at a height of 2,000 meters. To decrease the strain on the people living in the vicinity of airports and army training grounds we have introduced a series of restrictions for the air force when performing flights and bomb practice. Breaking the sound barrier and flying at a speed greater than sound are always to be done at altitudes of over 10,000 meters. Flights of such speed are not to be made at low or medium altitude. Apart from this, flights at a speed greater than sound are never to be made at night, that is between 2300 hours and 0600 in the morning. Flights at a speed lower than the speed of sound over localities with more than 25,000 inhabitants and over health resorts are only allowed at altitudes exceeding 2,000 meters.

A ban on firing and bomb practice has also been introduced for air force training groups at night between 2300 hours and 0600. To prevent fires I issued an order banning firing and bombing practices on all training grounds in Poland during [illegible] May.

We have also undertaken, in agreement with the Soviet side, actions aimed at limiting as much as possible the number of units, among them air units, stationed in Poland. As you know, some units have already been withdrawn, the subsequent successive [illegible] brigades, the missile unit regiment from Strzelce, [illegible] independent [illegible] battalions from Krzesiny. In the very near future it is envisaged that two more bases will be withdrawn, the reconnaissance helicopter regiment from Brzeg, and the air force regiment from Krzesiny. I mentioned a moment ago from Krzesiny. In 1990 it is planned to withdraw the reconnaissance aviation regiment from Bydgoszcz.

[Kozlowski] We thank the [illegible] comrade [illegible] Please add a moment. [illegible] Please add a moment. [illegible] to speak on the matter of [illegible] Please be heard.

[Unidentified deputy:] I would like to ask the minister to explain the procedure. It so happens that I represent Brzeg, where the problem with flights is complicated if only because, as the general surely knows, the airport is almost in the city itself, barely a kilometer away from the city along the E-32 international route. If it is true, as the general says, that it is forbidden to fly at an altitude lower than 2,00 meters over cities with 25,000 inhabitants, and Brzeg has more, it has 40,000, then I would wish to point out that take offs just on the outskirts of the town do not, of course, fly over the town to start off with but the strain, I must say, is very great. Doctors in Brzeg report an increase in illnesses, especially among children. Neuroses are commonplace, as are illnesses among domestic and farm animals. The indignation among farmers is very great, all the more so, general, since the Soviet side is unfortunately not keeping to the agreements made with our local authorities regarding the ban on flights during holy days. Just recently this happened during Corpus Christi, and on the Feast of All Souls, that is All Saints. This, too, is causing a fair amount of upheaval among the people.

The third thing linked to all this—and this is precisely that I wanted to ask about—is the matter of the air regiment in Krzesiny. There are rumors, and I guess that these are rumors, that part of that regiment is to be moved to Brzeg, so 45,6 would not be a reduction but just a change in location. This is very important, for in Brzeg we have the most difficult housing situation in the whole Opole region; people wait 10 or 20 years for a home, and meanwhile Soviet officers and the civilian staff of these units take up several hundred apartments in the city. So if a real reduction of Soviet personnel does not take place this situation will not undergo a radical change. That is why it is important to us that this helicopter regiment in Brzeg not be replaced by another unit.

[Unidentified parish radiotelex:] Please go ahead.

[Deputy:] Tadeusz [name indistinct], deputy from the Polish United Workers' Party. On behalf of the inhabitants of Stegenborg, Gmina 61, which is also linked to the subject, the Soviet Army unit stationed in the neighborhood of Gardelegen is the very troublesome for the inhabitants. What do these troubles consist of? The planes take off on the runway about one kilometer away from the city and the takeoffs are in the direction of the city. The takeoff, with the engine afterburners, takes place over the city itself. This is very troublesome.

[illegible] the Dutch underwent flights were often carried out the late hours of the night, even as late as 3:00. Inhabitants often observe helicopters flying over with cars hanging from them. They believe that there are explosive materials on them, also when the flights toward the training grounds there are explosives. This frightens a certain psychosis of being threatened and endangered, and in connection with this there is a request from the inhabitants' organizations that these [illegible] regiment [illegible] that there was also a petition to the Soviet without any particular results—so the request for today is that something be done to ensure the adherence to the regulations in force. Thank you.

[Deputy:] Mister speaker. My name is Ryszard [name indistinct]. It is true that I put forward a motion several days ago but so as not to have to go back to the matter—since it concerns the same sort of issue—I will be so bold as to read it. At the request of councilors from the municipal people's council in Radomsko, the priest of the Dominican convent in [placename indistinct] and the society of friends in [name placename], who have turned to me with copies of documents which were presented earlier, I have taken the step of putting forward the following motion.

For many years the inhabitants of Radomsko and the [placename indistinct] parish have felt the catastrophic results of the training flights of Soviet [illegible] planes. Historic buildings are being destroyed, as are sacred buildings, houses, and farm buildings. Frequent explosions and detonations also have a nefarious effect on the mental health of the inhabitants. Since 1986 efforts are being made to put an end to training flights and for the payment of compensation for the damaged buildings. Letters, enclosing the relevant documentation, have been sent by the municipal councilors of the people's council in Radomsko and the prior of the Dominican convent in [placename indistinct] to, among others, the chairman of the Council of State, the minister of national defense, the ombudsman, and the Polish delegation to the Polish-Soviet mixed commission, as well as to the [illegible] State Inspectorate Office. The problem has to this day not been resolved. I therefore request that you make your energetic efforts in the matter of putting an end to the training flights of Soviet planes and of paying compensation for the material losses suffered. I have literally presented part of the documentation of the citizen speaker.

[Acknowledgment:] Thank you very much. I hope that you can start answering the questions, [illegible].

[Deputy:] May I please the house. The problem of the effect on the population because of training flights by the military airlines is obvious. Unfortunately until now, similar to the West and to the East—has any solution been found which would make it possible to eliminate this strain. It is true that military flights by Soviet military planes, and also Polish ones, where these airfields are [illegible] and in the neighborhood of these airfields are the cause of many complaints from the local populations that these strains should be reduced and even that they should be entirely eliminated.

Well, the [illegible] to play it [illegible] both of the Soviet Army and of the Polish Army, [illegible] the right of defense made with the assumption of guaranteeing the

approximate balance of forces of the two politico-military systems. That is the reason why fairly numerous air force units were stationed in Poland and carried out exercises appropriate to the guaranteeing of combat readiness.

At the present time, when the political-military situation in Europe is visibly changing, when we see an increase in mutual trust, there is also a pronounced change in doctrines and also, in accordance with this, a reduction in military units. I hope that if the negotiations currently being held in Vienna arrive at a positive solution, the number of units will, in the near future—in 1990, 1991 and the following years—decrease and thus that the air force strength will be smaller and, of course also, the strain on society. However, in the nearest future these reductions will be slight—just as is being reported regarding the number of units which are being disbanded and as is being made public.

Nevertheless all comments from the public and the ones submitted today by citizens deputies will be analyzed in depth by us, and together with a government representative on the stationing of Soviet troops in Poland, we shall undertake measures in order to eliminate all infringements of the regulations in force. Also in talks with representatives of the Soviet Army we shall look for solutions which would meet the suggestions which have been submitted.

I am asking citizen deputies and citizen speakers to allow me to present a more precise answer to questions submitted to me here at the next Sejm session.

[Kozakiewicz] Thank you, does anyone else want to speak on this matter?

[Unidentified deputy] Because the minister of national defense is preparing a more detailed answer for the next meeting of the Sejm, I would like to ask the minister to take into consideration the problems I have presented in my question, which has been moved to our next meeting. I would like to point out that the armed forces are also obliged to observe the law; the community of the town of Pila has been struggling since 1985—if that is the right way of expressing it—against the excessive noise in the area of Pila. I would like to ask that the Pila airfield be included in these deliberations concerning the development of forces, even though this is an airfield used by our own units. I would like to add that the airfield in Pila is surrounded on three sides by residential estates, and their residents have the right to live like human beings.

[Siwicki] As regards the airfield in Pila this is the airfield on which a Polish unit is stationed and the aircraft used on this airfield, Su-22 M4 type, are, it is true, well capable of breaking the 80 decibels barrier on take-off. The possibility of redeployment is limited because it would be very costly to redeploy such a unit and prepare all the infrastructure for it.

Apart from this there is also a problem of providing a good standard of living for the personnel, which is quite numerous in such a technical regiment. We are, therefore, seeking for, and implementing, the changes which would decrease the inconvenience by ensuring that the take-offs are only in the direction which is uninhabited, and that most flights are outside Pila. We also carry out some of the training, including take-offs and landings, outside of the Pila airfield. In other words, we are showing maximum good will. But, of course, this does not eliminate all the inconvenience. By the way, the issue of residents in the area of the airfield: First a proposal is made to build an estate, opinions are examined and comments are made that there is an airfield there, but this is ignored and the estate is built, and later on Sejm questions are submitted and demands are made not to fly. It is difficult to reconcile all these issues; nevertheless, citizen deputies, the armed forces are persevering here, and in line with the progress in our restructuring and decrease of the armed forces we shall do everything to meet the expectations of the public.

Deputies Debate Pact Issues

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[From relay of Sejm session in Warsaw chaired by Deputy Speaker Olga Krzyzanowska—live]

[Text] [Krzyzanowska] In connection with Deputy Edmund Krasowski's written, or rather oral question, National Defense Minister Florian Siwicki would like to supplement his answer. Go ahead, Minister, please.

[Siwicki] Citizen Speaker, may it please the House. Conference of the political consultative committee of Warsaw Pact members are a regular statutory form of work of Warsaw Pact bodies and they take place annually in the capitals of the allied states.

The results of the latest conference of the political consultative committee were published in the Polish press. Equally the content of those publications, the course of the conference itself, and that of bilateral meetings show that there were no attempts there to intervene in the internal affairs of either Poland or any other country. It was clearly stated that every people in a sovereign manner make their own choice of sociopolitical and economic develpment.

At the same time, reference was made to the principle that there is no universal model of socialism and that no one has a monopoly on truth, while true partnership is the basis of collaboration within the alliance. These, as well as other appraisals presented in the documents of the conference, serve Poland's national interests and are in agreement with the priorities of Polish foreign policy. Such is also the nature of the allied states' proposals for action for reducing confrontation, further disarmament, and confidence-building through expanding the East-West dialogue.

Poland plays an effective role in these international undertakings. It confirms this through its foreign policy and the practice of reducing and restructuring its army. Consequently, the results of the conference of the Warsaw Pact political consultative committee in Bucharest are beneficial equally for Poland and for the atmosphere of detente and cooperation on the European continent.

On the issue of advance information about political consultative committee conferences I would like to explain that Poland, as well as the other Warsaw Pact members, is bound by the same principles which have been agreed between the partners. In accordance with these principles, information about the political consultative committee conference in Bucharest was published in the press on 21 June this year, while on 6 July, that is on the eve of the conference, the composition of the Polish delegation was made public. Thank you. [applause]

[Krzyzanowska] Thank you very much. Would Deputy Krasowski like to speak? Go ahead, please.

[Krasowski] Madam speaker, may it please the house. The citizen general's answer cannot satisfy me. I still have a great many doubts. I am still worried about the decisions made in Bucharest on 7 and 8 July this year. Special significance is acquired by the communique, published in the press, of the conference of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact states, signed also by leaders of the Polish People's Republic, which says, among other things—I quote:

The participants in the conference exchanged information on the internal situation in their countries and about the progress and problems in socialist construction, noting the progress and problems in socialist construction, noting the growing interdependence between domestic and foreign policies. They emphasized the vitality of the ideas of socialism and the great importance of the transformations taking place in the socialist countries, which strive toward improving and renewing socialist society and giving socialism high political and economic dynamics.

Further on we read: The conference confirmed the mutual striving for action in the interests of socialism and for improving cooperation between the allied states.

In view of the above, what is the reform in Poland to look like? Is it at all possible to reform the Polish economy, while at the same time acting in the interests of socialism and for improving the allied states? This is a contradiction.

And, finally, I would like to say one more thing. I consider it to have been at the very least tactless of the Polish authorities to have reported within several days of returning from Bucharest the results of the conference of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact states not to the Sejm but to the Polish United Workers Party Politburo. So what is the Sejm? Are we to be a mere sham? Such an important conference attended by leaders of the Polish People's Republic should first and foremost be reported to the house. Thank you very much. [applause]

[Krzyzanowska] Go ahead, please.

[Siwicki] Undoubtedly the foreign minister would like to say something on the subject, and I would not like to preempt that before it takes place. Nevertheless, I do not fully share—or rather completely do not share—the misgivings voiced by the citizen deputy, because the building of socialism, and present improving of the system of government based on socialism is possible, and we believe that this system of justice can and should undergo reform and that is what we are striving for. On the other hand, cooperation between the allied states in the present conditions is being pursued on the basis of mutual respect and nonintervention in internal affairs, and exclusively on the basis of exchanging information, mutual support, assistance, and elaborating in some areas, which are convergent, mutual decisions, such as in confidence-building and seeking solutions for peace in Europe, which is already bringing benefits for our old continent. That is how we interpret and that is how we implement our policies. Everyone is entitled to have doubts but it is my belief that the communique and the actual work of the political consultative committee of the Warsaw Pact states should not arouse such misgivings in anyone.

And the other issues, that the Politburo was reported to rather than the Sejm. As far as I know, until now the executive authorities had no such legal obligation and there has been no such practice. Should the house determine otherwise, this will of course be carried out.

[Krzyzanowska] Thank you very much. [applause] Would any citizen deputy like to speak on this issue, that is the question put Deputy Krasowski?

Nobody is asking to speak, consequently we take the minister's answer as satisfactory. Thank you very much. Ladies and gentlemen...yes? Go ahead please, Minister. I am sorry, I was not looking your way. Go ahead, Minister.

[Olechowski] Citizen Speaker. May it please the house. In the field of certain issues which concern the ministry which I have the honour to represent, I would like to add one or two things on a couple of issues.

First, I would like to say that for us, the participating foreign affairs ministers, it was an opportunity not just to hear the plenary proceedings of the leaders of the Warsaw Pact countries on a subject range which today is at least highly interesting if not fascinating, on subjects of the modern world, but also an opportunity to hold two meetings between foreign affairs ministers where we could within our more narrowly professional sphere discuss these subjects. And I would like to say with complete sincerity and candor that it was one of the best and most interesting meetings in which I have taken

part, and according to accounts of colleagues with more experience in the subject, also within the last few years. What were the main topics which were the subject, especially in the matters which particularly interest our country, Poland.

Above all there was agreement on the main lines which were being discussed. Of course, it was agreement in a manner of speaking to some extent. Within our discussions held currently within the camp there is also a good deal of pluralism. But there was agreement on the main lines. On the issue of lessening confrontation and expanding East-West dialogue, as the principal topic, in principle there were no statements from the Warsaw Pact states which would go against this trend which today dominates our foreign policy.

The continuation of the CSCE process, both within those categories which currently exist, that is the two forums in Vienna, conventional disarmament issues, economic matters and baskets which we are preparing for next year, and issues of cultural and information cooperation were positively assessed, with emphasis on the further development of this subject.

What generally dominated—maybe its a bit general sounding, maybe its a bit too early—was the subject of the common European home, how to form [word indistinct] for assistance between East and West Europe, how to bring these things closer together, in the interests, of course, of the whole of Europe, of the whole of our continent. And I am speaking about this simply to say that all of these matters, in practice, cover the main lines of our currently implemented foreign policy, at least in the current government situation, and I have no doubt that the next government will take up these main lines and will continue to actively conduct them.

I would like to say, in connection with this, that there does not exist the slightest basis for drawing conclusions or for anxieties, and conclusions in relation to certain fears as regards certain problems which could restrict either our sovereignty, or to direct this political line which I mentioned a moment ago into less advantageous channels. Here I am confirming what General Siwicki spoke about a moment ago.

I would like to say further that the global assessment, despite differences in opinions—these no doubt occurred—probably creates one thesis which confirms the exceptionally favorable international aura, including at the meeting in Bucharest, for reformist activity in our country. Even certain questions addressed to us did not, in any event, have the nature of an attack, but rather, the explanation of certain things to our other partners who do not necessarily represent this road or this line.

And here, precisely, is this subject which was also posed by the citizen deputy in the supplementary question. I think that it is almost the rule at the moment that at all meetings of the socialist countries, that is countries of the Warsaw Pact, we present to each other certain reformist achievements in our individual countries. And I will say with great pride that Poland is one of those countries which is most eagerly listened to. The speeches of our hitherto chairman of the council of state, or the premier, or also our ministers, are listened to with the greatest interest, and probably the overwhelming majority with good will. So the fact that we are talking about these things, what transformations are taking place in our Polish model of socialism, which new elements we are introducing here so that it may be a Polish model, answering the needs of our society, our national interests, is a very important subject for us and, as I have said, a subject for which a grat need exists.

The fact that there exists a doubt—also put forward here, I understand, with certain anxiety—concerning between the internal situation, between the internal policy of our country and our foreign policy...well, doubtless this subject does not require wider comment and wider explanations. I may state as the one conducting our foreign policy for these past 12 months—will allow myself one boast—no doubt the successes or achievements which we have won are, to an enormous extent, due to the changes which are taking place in our country. It is precisely our internal changes, the direction of these changes, which allow for the strengthening not only of the picture but also the position of Poland, Poland's international position, both in East and West. Thank you very much. That's what I wanted to add. [applause]

[Krzyzanowska] We thank the minister. Deputy Adam Michnik also wanted to ask a question, if he may, of the minister. Please go ahead, Mr Deputy, with your question.

[Michnik] Madam Speaker. Esteemed chamber. I wanted to express my satisfaction at what we have heard from Minister Olechowski, that the principle of noninterference in the internal affairs of our country will be respected, and in connection with this, I wanted to pose two questions.

Firstly, is it true, as the mass media inform, that during the Bucharest conference an acute controvercy occured on the basis of the attitude to the democratic process taking place in our country, in the Soviet Union and in Hungary, that these democratic transformations were criticized by the Romanian, Czechoslovak, GDR, and Bulgarian leaders. That's the first question.

And the second question: In the press, both in Czechoslovakia and in the GDR, it is possible to read many critical articles and observations on the subject of what is happening in Poland. I regard this as normal. Everyone has the right to assess the situation as he thinks fit. However, (?there is) still this question to the foreign minister: Is it a violation of allianees if the Polish press subjects the processes taking place in the GDR or Czechoslovakia or Romania to analogous criticism, and if not, then how, as the editor-in-chief of GAZETA WYBORCZA am I to understand the systematically

recurring confiscation of information material on the subject of the violation of human rights in Romania, Czechoslovakia, or the GDR? Thank you. [applause]

[Krzyzanowska] Thank you very much. We call the minister.

[Olechowski] Madam Speaker, esteemed chamber. I think I'll start with the last question. I would not like to pronounce here on behalf of the activities of the censorship, to which, as I have heard, there are certain reservations here and there. However, I would like to pronounce on the question in the sense of its political substance. Well, first of all, I would like to state that the changes about which we are speaking, writing, about which, above all, we know have taken place in recent years—they may, above all, be observed in perhaps a particularly spectacular way presisely in other reports also from the countries of our camp, countries of the Warsaw Pact. The formula applied until a few years ago, of a certain, so-called simulated unity of opinion on all matters, the avoidance of any controversial points whatsoever, belongs, in fact, to history, and just as, after all, probably Deputy Michnik, also assessed it a moment ago, there are article in the press of socialist countries on Polish issues, recurring, after all, quite frequently, I would wager, saying honestly what our neighbors or our partners of the socialist countries of Europe, or outside Europe, think and say about us. I think that there are also many various types of pronouncements on this subject also in Poland—and not necessarily pronouncements which put some sort of varnish on assessments of these subjects which [words indistinct].

What does constitute a restraining mechamism here, first of all, I think—and I fully understand this—is noninterference above all in (?their) internal affairs. I do not hide the fact that I personally am highly sensitive, by virtue of my profession as a long-time employee of my country's foreign service, to the various forms of interference in our Polish affairs, regardless of which direction it comes from. And hence, I can tell you frankly that if this or that matter in another country—and not just necessarily in a socialist country—is not to the best of my liking, I always have to consider whether that is the time for me—as an official representative of the country, or as a political party, or as the parliament—to make immediate harsh and negative pronouncements on these subjects. There are certain rules of the game, there are even certain tactical requirements that dictate that a degree of moderation, a degree of common sense, a degree of restraint, and a degree of responsibility should be preserved on the subject. So I am in favor of talking relatively openly to our socialist partners. Whether there are instances when these limits are exceeded and this brings about intervention and censorship under some kind of provision, I find it hard to say right now. I am in favor of speaking candidly and openly but without going beyond certain limits which apply unfortunately, to some extent, to us, too.

I would like to say from my fairly good knowledge of Western countries—I have spent many years in various Western countries—that with the so-called complete freedom of expression in speech and writing there, they, too, generally avoid official-sounding pronouncements which would harass this or that partner in a critical or overly uncongenial manner, especially in relations between countries which have good cooperation and belong to the same alliance. So I don't think that this is just a custom of ours, here in Eastern Europe; it is a principle which is generally applied in a more-or-less similar form elsewhere.

As far as the subject of Bucharest is concerned, as I already mentioned in my first address, it was not of course an unequivocal, unanimous, identical perception of the same issues. We are all well aware of this, we write about it, speak about it, that every one of the socialist countries, Eastern Europe, Warsaw Pact countries, now applies to its development stragegies its own national directions of development which follow from its customs, certain traditions, and social and political requirements. And there can be no doubt that in the statements by individual leaders, by individual premiers or ministers, these differences can be clearly felt. The countries that Deputy Michnik named here, these countries naturally occupy a different position in the context of reforms, including in the context of economic reforms, not to mention political reforms. Even if we sometimes speak about the similar lines of the Polish and Hungarian roads, there are, after all, enormous differences in some of the conceptions of action, in some of the solutions both in their country and in ours, not to mention the Soviet Union which within its restructuring is also solving various problems in a spirit which is perhaps similar in places but nevertheless very different. There are other countries which for various reasons of their own are not yet set for this speed of reform. Does this bring about some kind of strong political confrontation at these meetings? Here I would like to say an emphatic no. Because even if there are speeches which reflect the straight direction, the so-called principled, or, as some say, orthodox view of these matters, their purpose is to show the line of development of that country or that party rather than to persuade the others that his road is the only good one, while the roads of the others are incorrect. At least that is how we interpreted these other speeches which were made in our presence and which did not necessarily coincide with our line of development.

And here I would like to say again that the topic which dominates all our meetings, the topic which is now clearly repeated almost to the extent of becoming some kind of slogan, some kind of fundamental direction of activity, is that no one has a monopoly on truth, that there is no single ideal standard of the socialist model—these are the recent, often-repeated statements by Mikhail Gorbachev, that finally every country has the right, and I would add the duty, to choose its own tactics, its own strategy, its own political line, without any of its

partners or friends having the right to interfere with this line. And this line, I would like to reaffirm again, predominated during the Bucharest meeting. Thank you very much. [applause]

[Krzyzanowska] Would any other citizen deputy like to speak to this matter? I see none.

Kiszczak, Cardinal Glemp Discuss Social Issues

LD0308193989 Warsaw PAP in English
1837 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 3—Chairman of the Council of Ministers Czeslaw Kiszczak called on Polish Primate Jozef Cardinal Glemp today, to discuss issues of social life which are subject to common concern.

The sides considered that they should be solved through dialogue and national agreement.

Czeslaw Kiszczak informed the primate on his intention to form a new government with the participation of the broadest representation of the main political forces of the country.

Kiszczak Meets Other Leaders

LD0308194289 Warsaw PAP in English
1839 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 3—Chairman of the Council of Ministers Czeslaw Kiszczak, in connection with his mission to form a new government, called today on head of the national board of the Christian-Social Union Kazimierz Morawski, head of the Pax Catholic Association Zenon Komender and Senate Deputy Speaker Zofia Kuratowska.

Prices Decision Called 'Misleading'

LD0308202589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1700 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] A Senate resolution concerning agriculture and the food economy adopted on 1 Aug and published today states that the drastic decision on prices which has come into force and which was adopted by the outgoing government was made without agreement with the trade unions and the forces represented in parliament.

We read on in this resolution: This operation was given the misleading name of the introduction of market mechanisms. In reality, it amounts to the mobilization of food price increases, without introducing other mechanisms of the market economy and competition, particularly without the elimination of the state monopoly in the purchase of agricultural products and the monopoly in the supply to the countryside of the means of production. In connection with this, the senate regards it as necessary, inter alia, for the government to work out a several-month long rescue plan for the economy and also a 2-year plan for its reconstruction, to be presented to parliament for approval. The cessation of all commenced investment projects, with the exception of those directly serving an increase in consumption, protection of the environment and the population's health and the social and economic infrastructure, is also imperative. The full text of the senate resolution concerning agriculture and the food economy will be published in tomorrow's press.

Rakowski Interviewed on PZPR Plenum, Health

LD0308193189 Warsaw PAP in English
1636 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, August 3—PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski answered several questions by PAP reporter Adolf Reut.

Speaking about the potential date for the 14th Central Committee plenum the party leader said: (excerpts)

"Intensive preparations for the 14th plenum will start from the first days of September. I hold a view that every plenary meeting of the leading party organization must be very well and comprehensively prepared. In this case, this has a special significance if one takes into account that the 14th plenum will outline prospects for the 11th congress and prepare this event in an essential and organizational way. The resolution of the last 13th PUWP Central Committee plenum makes one think much also in this respect."

Answering a question about his health condition, Rakowski said:

"Thank you, I am well and I think that it is so because I try to take care of my health. I constantly swim everyday."

And why were you hospitalized yesterday?

"I had simply a moment of infirmity caused by being overworked."

What is your psychical mood, former premier?

"I am well also in this respect despite the fact that various sides, particularly the opposition, carried out sharp criticism of (my) government in parliament. I do not worry about objective assessment of work of the government that I ran for nine months. And if not now, perhaps in several months and perhaps in a couple of years a contemporary historian will objectively size up what we did. This assessment is today coloured with passions dictated by different views. Therefore, this is a manifestation of political struggle. I accept and understand this, which does not mean that I praise one-sided view of this kind."

Rakowski Presents Awards at Workers' Cooperative
LD0308193589 Warsaw PAP in English
1832 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 3—A ceremony of presenting annual awards of the "Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch" workers' publishing cooperative (RSW) was held here today with the particpation of PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee First Secretary and Chairman of the RSW board of directors Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Individual and collective awards went to journalists, publishers, employees of printing industry and distribution and to people running press and book clubs—members of the cooperative.

Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski thanked the winners and he asked journalists to support the new PUWP Central Committee first secretary by their publications, but not giving up apt and necessary criticism. Referring to the 13th PUWP Congress, Rakowski pointed to the need to popularize various views and opinions that could contribute to animating the party ideological life. The time of directives in the press and propaganda ended a long time ago. Journalism became the work of free people. It is important to actively and wisely support the party. I have the right to ask for this because I myself come from a milieu of journalists, said Mieczyslaw Rakowski ending his address.

Geremek Grants Interview to French Journalist
LD0308211889 Paris Domestic Service in French
1700 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Interview with Solidarity activist Bronislaw Geremek by Correspondent Patrick Gouyou-Beauchamps; date, place not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Geremek] We are aware that the economic situation is grave, and we are ready to seek a consensus in the economic field among the government, Solidarity, and the parliamentary opposition groups. This consensus is only possible when there is the possibility, a chance of influencing economic policy and of influencing economic decisions. Thus, we want to win a new parliamentary institution; a special commission of both chambers of the parliament which would not only be able to monitor the government's economic policy, but also participate in its formulation and participate in its implementation, that is, in making decisions. [passage omitted]

Peasants Party Presidium Discusses Economy
LD2507210289 Waraw PAP in English
1840 GMT 25 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 25—The Presidium of the Central Committee of the United Peasant's Party expressed today its concern with further, progressing destabilization of the market and the whole economy in this country.

The Presidium reviewed the outlines of the economic programme for the years 1989-1992 that determines indispensable changes to be introduced into economy within the process of adjustment to the requirements of the IMF and world bank.

The Presidium declared itself for introduction of clear economic mechanisms, for the creation of organizational and legal conditions necessary for the functioning of capital market.

The Presidium assessed the preparations for introducing market mechanisms into food economy, fully supporting government proposals to implement these mechanisms as of this August 1.

The Presidium stated that the opinions pubished i.a. by the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] Social and Economic Commission as to delaying the decision on introducing market mechanisms into food economy are safe-playing proposals that mislead public opinion.

Government proposals to market-orient the food economy should be implemented with full consistency. The Peasant's Party fully supports them, the Presidium stated.

Former RFE Chief's Sentence Under Review
LD2807153589 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 28 Jul 89

[Text] The first presiding judge of the Supreme Court has passed to the military chamber of this court, an extraordinary review of the case of Zdzislaw Najder, former head of the Polish section of Radio Free Europe [RFE], who, in 1983, was sentenced to death in absentia for spying. The first presiding judge of the Supreme Court lodged an appeal for the abrogation of this verdict, and for the case to be presented for a renewed examination to the Lower Court, possibly for the transfer of the case to the Public Prosecuter's Office for completion of the investigation.

The Supreme Court press spokesman said that requests for instituting this extraordinary review came to the first presiding judge of the Supreme Court from the editorial team of the TWORCZOSC monthly and the Polish Pen Club.

Commission Blames Soviet Pilot for Glider Crash
LD3107230189 Warsaw PAP in English
1717 GMT 31 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 31—The main commission for examining air accidents ended investigation into the circumstances of an aircraft crash in which pilot Maciej Majewski was killed on July 5 in collision with the SU-24 aircraft from the Northern Group of the Soviet Army.

The commission found out that the pilot of the Soviet aircraft caused the crash not observing air traffic regulations. He violated airspace of the Lubin Airport used by the aeroclub of the copper mining region.

Pilot Majewski was performing a training flight on the SZD-30 "pirate" glider used by the said aeroclub.

Soviet Commission Views 1939 Pact, Protocol
LD0408102489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0330 GMT 4 Aug 89

[Text] The special commission set up by the Congress of People's Deputies to carry out a political and legal assessment of the Soviet-German nonaggression pact of 1939 has stated unambiguously that the Ribbentrop-Molotov pact was accompanied by a secret protocol on the division of spheres of influence and interests between the Soviet Union and Germany in Eastern Europe. At the same time, the commission stated that Soviet society bears no responsibility for the secret and criminal consequences of the Stalinist leadership.

Relations, Cooperation Discussed With PRC
LD2907202489 Warsaw PAP in English 1911 GMT 29 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 29—Chinese Foreign Vice-Minister Tian Zengpei paid a visit here July 28-29, as part of regular consultations between Polish and Chinese foreign ministries. The guest was received by co-chairman of the Polish-Chinese intergovernmental committee for cooperation in economy, trade, science and technology and Vice-Premier Ireneusz Sekula and Foreign Minister Tadeusz Olechowski.

Both sides reviewed bilateral relations during the talks with Under Secretary of State at the Foreign Ministry Majewski. They positively sized up the implementation of agreements between both countries and pointed to the necessity to take firm steps to maintain hitherto level of mutually beneficial economic cooperation and trade. They exchanged also views on the situation in both countries and some international problems, particularly these related to Asia and Europe.

During the talks with Vice-Premier Sekula, both sides focussed on preparations for the 5th session of the Polish-Chinese inter-governmental committee for cooperation in economy, trade, science and technology.

Chinese Ambassador to Poland Pei Yuanying took part in the meeting.

Foreign Ministry Holds 7 Jul News Conference
AU0707155389 Warsaw PAP in English 1443 GMT 7 Jul 89

[Text] Warsaw, July 7—Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Stefan Staniszewski began a press conference today by delivering the following statement:

"The Political-Consultative Committee of States-Parties to the Warsaw Treaty began in Bucharest today. It is difficult to speak about a detailed agenda of the debates at this moment. It will be adopted at the meeting itself because all member states shape it together.

"Taking into account the hitherto practice and course of meetings of this kind, one can expect that during the meeting in Bucharest the Political Consultative Committee will assess the international situation, the development of East-West relations, particularly in Europe."

In reply to questions put by Polish and foreign newsmen, the spokesman stated:

"Although the outcome of the June elections was not favourable for the governing coalition, the very fact that they took place and their course have boosted Poland's credibility on the international arena because they confirmed the direction of the reforms being introduced, that is democracy, pluralism, market economy. A more favourable climate has surfaced at present around the regulation of our debt, normalization of financial-credit relations, greater engagement of Western business into investing in Poland.

"We have received a few announcements of support for Poland, including the matter of the adjustment program in the International Monetary Fund and the Paris Club. There are, however, still more declarations than concrete matters. Hence, we await concrete steps.

"There are chances for the visit of the chancellor of the FRG to take place still this year, the year of the 50th anniversary of Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland and the outbreak of World War Two.

"Including Czeslaw Kiszczak into the Polish delegation for the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of States-Parties to the Warsaw Treaty in Bucharest is connected with the proposal of his candidature for the post of president. Normally an internal affairs minister does not take part in such meetings.

"As concerns the expectations associated with the visit of the U.S. President to Poland, they chiefly concern economic assistance, immediate and long-term. We are particularly keen on having credit guarantees opened to back our economy in the process of its adaptation to market mechanisms, including a possibility of using credits to buy food, swapping a part of the debt under the provisions of Brady's plan, encouraging investors to engage capital in Poland by granting them government guarantees, and assistance in managerial cadres training.

"Moreover, we want fast credit assistance from the International Monetary Fund within the framework of the adjustment program, credits from the World Bank for pro-exports investment projects, advantageous rescheduling of guaranteed debt owed to creditors grouped in the Paris Club. All in all, at issue would be various forms of financial-credit assistance spread over several years from the U.S. and the West totalling several billion dollars."

Ceausescu Visits Teleorman, Calarasi Counties

AU0308190689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 3 Aug 89

["President Nicolae Ceausescu's Working Visit to Teleorman and Calarasi Counties"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 3/8/1989—On Thursday, August 3, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], president of Romania, paid a working visit to farming, research and production units in the counties of Teleorman and Calarasi and on the site at the Arges, which is to be developed to serve navigation, irrigation and other purposes, an economic project of national importance.

The visit started on the fields of the Teleorman Farming Research Station, which is situated in the vicinity of Draganesti-Vlasca. The RCP and Romanian state leader and decision makers and experts looked into the way in which actions is taken to get the best possible results in the cultivation of castor oil plants. Aspects were examined related to the implementation of the castor oil plant culture programme for 1989. Experts there were shown to have created an early strain of castor oil plant, which is called "Teleorman" and whose production features are special. At the same time, the results scored in the culture of grey peas and chicory were outlined, with emphasis on the need for the area under grey peas to extend on 10,000 hectares on an all-country level in 1990.

The working dialogue continued in the fields of the "Beiuceni" cotton production and capitalization enterprise in the same county. It was an opportunity to analyse current and long-term questions related to cotton culture in Teleorman and throughout the country, with a view to supplying more raw material to the Romanian textile industry. Data were examined on the implementation of the cotton culture programme all over the country in 1989 and stress was laid on the fact that, with the research conducted thus far as a basis, new strains had been created, which provide for larger cotton productions and for a drop in export. The Romanian head of state requested that the greatest attention be further paid to questions related to the expansion of that culture in Teleorman County and in the counties of Dolj and Mehedinti, lying in the southern part of the country, too, to the efficient capitalization of existing conditions to produce larger amounts of cotton in this county. We must set ourselves to turn out a cotton production worth 100,000 tonnes in our country, the RCP general secretary said. In its turn, research should work for the creation of new strains, boasting superior features, in line with pedoclimatic conditions in this country, for the improvement of cultivation technologies and for the mechanization of cotton cultures.

The rice paddies of the state farming enterprise at Chirnogi, Calarasi County, were also visited. The party general secretary was informed of the way in which the rice culture programme is implemented in the country. Paddies in Romania were shown to extend on roughly 50,000 hectares and stress was laid on the fact that, with the research conducted thus far as a basis, new strains had been created, which boast a high productive potential, and on the need to further those concerns.

During his visit, President Nicolae Ceausescu was informed by representatives of local party bodies, by managerial staff and experts in the farming units seen round of the way in which action is taken to complete harvesting works on all summer cultures. Each unit was shown to precisely follow the stage of ripening in sun flower, early maize hybrids and other autumn cultures, with a view to starting harvesting, transport an storage operations without delay, to thus harvest the crops in the shortest possible time and without losses.

President Nicolae Ceausescu also visited the Arges River-development site, an extensive project which will provide for navigation, irrigation of vast areas, power production, water supply to a number of localities and economic units, the development of fish rearing and the creation of recreational areas. The Danube-Black Sea Canal, an investment project of utmost importance of the current five-year period, will also boost the efficiency of commodity transportation, contributing to the development and modernization of the localities situated in the vicinity of the navigable course of the Arges.

The visit to the large site started in the working area of the number 1 hydraulic knot, situated at kilometre 2 on the canal, in the vicinity of Oltenita. [sentence as received] The current stage of construction operations on the Arges was examined. In his talk with the decision-makers in the attendance, the RCP general secretary recommended measures to intensify the activity on the site as a whole.

President Nicolae Ceausescu stopped by kilometres 11 and 20, and visited the Bucharest—30 Decembric port site, where the waves and the drainage of the port basin were completed. President Nicolae Ceausescu had words of appreciation for the construction workers' efforts and results and requested that further action be taken to perform fast-pace works on the Danube-Bucharest Canal as a whole.

Ceausescu Receives FRG Businessmen 3 Aug

AU0308183689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1741 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 3/8/1989—On Thursday, 3 August, Romania's President Nicolae Ceausescu received in Snagov Rolf Demuth, chairman of "Schieder Machel" of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Dieter Hilbert, director of "IMK" Company, now on a visit to Romania.

During the interview, questions were discussed concerning the collaboration between Romanian specialty enterprises and "Schieder Moebel" group of companies in leading furniture

Ceausescu's Message to Iranian President

AU3008104089 Bucharest AGERPRES in Romanian 1 Aug 89 p 1

[President Nicolae Ceausescu's cable to "Hi Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran"]

[Text] To Hi Hojjat ol-Eslam 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, Tehran

On your election as president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, I take particular pleasure in extending warm congratulations and best wishes for good health, happiness, and success in the highly responsible activity entrusted to you, as well as wishes for progress and prosperity to the friendly Iranian people

I want to express the conviction that relations between Romania and Iran will continue to develop at various levels to the interest of the two countries and peoples, and of understanding and peace in the world

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Ceausescu's Birthday Greetings to 'Arafat

AU3008104889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1047 GMT 1 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 3/8/1989—RCP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu sent a telegram to Yasir 'Arafat, president of the State of Palestine, chairman of the Executive Committee of the PLO, whereby he conveys him congratulations and wishes of health, personal happiness and ever bigger successes in his highly responsible activity on his 60th birthday

I wish to reassert on this occasion, too, the full solidarity and consistent support of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of the Romanian people, for the just fight and the efforts the Palestinian people under your leadership make for reaching a global political solution to the Middle East situation, for attaining its national aspirations to live in peace, in a free and independent [word redacted] in the spirit of the message and talks held with Yasir 'Arafat in Bucharest, the relations of friendship, solidarity and collaboration between the RCP and the PLO will further develop and strengthen in the interest of the Romanian and the Palestinian peoples, of the cause of international peace and understanding

Ceausescu's Message to Poland's Rakowski

AU3008190889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1851 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 3/8/1989—Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu sent a telegram to Czeslaw Kiszczak, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, on his having been elected to that office, conveying him, on behalf of the Romanian Government, as well as on his own behalf, sincere congratulations and the warmest wishes of success in his activity

The telegram expresses the belief that, by working in concert and in the spirit of the talks conducted at top level in Bucharest and Warsaw, the two countries' governments will contribute to the further development of the Romanian-Polish friendship and collaboration, for the benefit and in the interest of the two peoples, of the cause of socialism, peace and progress in the world

Daily Views Helsinki Final Act Anniversary

AU3008161689 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Aug 89 p 4

[Radu Bogdan article: "For a United Europe of Free and Independent Nations"]

[Text] In the context of the constant efforts made by Socialist Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu to secure the necessary foreign conditions of peace required by the construction of the multilaterally developed socialist society in our country, a primary place is taken by actions and struggle to develop cooperation and strengthen security in Europe. The ultimate goal—in accordance with the requirements of the new way of political thinking and action—is to build a united Europe by observing the exact content, independence, and sovereignty of each nation on the continent. This is the profound aspiration of the Romanian people and of the other European nations, and a vital prerequisite for the future of the whole mankind

A review of the 14 years since the signing of the Helsinki Final Act at summit level on 1 August 1975 clearly shows the important role played by Romania in this evolutionary process and in initiating the process of normalization of inter-European relations, promoting the cause of security and peace, and asserting a spirit of understanding and cooperation on the continent. In this respect, the European chronicles take note of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's internationally acknowledged contribution to crystallizing the very concept of European security—a real security, conceived as a system of firm pledges from all states and of concrete measures conducive to eliminating the use and threat of force, a system which can offer guarantees to all countries that they need not fear any acts of aggression, and which can facilitate fruitful and mutually advantageous cooperation among all nations on the continent

Reading the content of the Helsinki Final Act—a most important document which is rightly considered as a true "Charter of Europe"—it is worthwhile mentioning the numerous Romanian contributions to its drafting. One should consistently and unflinchingly implement the new principles of interstate relations—which lie at the basis of this document and for whose general dissemination and implementation our country has been carrying out a vast activity—such as full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states, refrain of force and the threat of force, mutual advantage, and observance of each nation's right to choose its socioeconomic development path. To this end, our country has made steady efforts to promote the road opened up in Helsinki and to develop the process of security, cooperation, and understanding on the continent, thus making many constructive contributions at subsequent all-European meetings.

As the Romanian president said in his recent interview to the Spanish newspaper ABC, while the signatory states have taken certain general steps to implement the Final Act, there is still much left to be done to apply its basic provisions on security, disarmament, and economic and scientific-technical cooperation, these being basic prerequisites of the Helsinki document.

Of course, the top priority is to eliminate the danger of a nuclear and conventional war and to achieve disarmament, without which one cannot conceive of true and lasting security for the European continent. Therefore, Socialist Romania and President Nicolae Ceausescu have advanced many proposals and initiatives in all these years and have made and continue to make steady efforts to attain this important target, on which mankind's very survival and progress depend. The documents adopted by the recent Bucharest meeting of the Warsaw Pact's Political Consultative Committee—particularly the document entitled "For a Stable and Secure Europe Without Nuclear and Chemical Weapons, For a Substantial Reduction in the Armed Forces, Armaments, and Military Expenditures"—emphasize the determination of the socialist Warsaw Pact member countries to take firm steps to achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and to ensure peace in Europe and throughout the world. In this spirit, as the party secretary general said in his recent speech to the big mass rally in Constanta Municipality, Romania speaks out for the rapid attainment of an agreement at the Vienna talks on conventional arms reduction, and for providing in reduce military expenditures by at least 50 percent, so as to create conditions for the allocation of appropriate funds to solve many social problems in the countries, and also help the developing countries.

It is all the more necessary to turn reflexes on the principles and provisions of the Helsinki Final Act, as there have been certain attempts of late to distort the letter and spirit of this document. In this respect, one can say that, compared with the Helsinki Final Act, which marked an important point in Europe's political [illegible], the latest all-European meeting in Vienna has marked a step backward, due to the attempts of certain states to modify and reinterpret the principles laid down by the 1975 summit. This was particularly obvious in the attempt to use the humanitarian theme for diversion purposes, with some states assuming the right to teach lessons to others and pass judgement on the situation in a given country. At the same time, the meeting's documents failed to accordingly include, as binding stages for all states, certain proposals on a number of real humanitarian problems such as finding jobs for all citizens, primarily for the young generation, eliminating unemployment, ensuring the professional training and raising the education level of young people, satisfying the housing requirements of all society's members, and eliminating socioeconomic inequalities between men and women. On the other hand, under the pretext of the so-called concern for human rights and religious freedom, the document includes provisions which run counter to the principles and spirit of the Final Act and to the customs of our age, and which can pave the way to interference in the domestic affairs of other states and the violation of national independence and sovereignty. Likewise, the document contains provisions which actually stimulate emigration and encourage the brain drain, thus harming the socioeconomic interests of nations, particularly the least developed ones.

At the same time, one cannot overlook the increasing attempts of late to interfere in the domestic affairs of the socialist countries, with the obvious goal of destabilizing the situation in these countries and poisoning the political climate in Europe and the rest of the world. Such attempts at destabilizing the situation in some socialist countries and other endeavors to adopt certain capitalist forms are in flagrant contradiction to the policy of détente and cooperation. Therefore, our country has consistently emphasized the imperative requirement to understand the necessity of renouncing the old policy of subversion, diversion, and all kinds of interference in the affairs of other states. Those circles which claim for themselves the right to decide what is good or bad in a given country should better realize that there are many problems to be solved in their own countries and that the first duty of any state is to ensure a free and dignified life for its people.

The united edifice of Europe, as foreshadowed in the Helsinki Final Act, must be built on the foundation of both security and cooperation, which are the "pillars" of such a historically important structure for the continent's nations. In the spirit of this concept, Romania has worked and continues to take consistent steps to broadly develop such a comprehensive cooperation in the economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and environmental spheres. Life has shown that the implementation of security goals in Europe can only be achieved if one proceeds from the reality of the existence of a great diversity in Europe—socialist, capitalist, big, medium-sized, and small states at various development stages,

which belong to the two military blocks or are neutral and nonaligned. Recently there has been much talk about what a European property is. In this respect our country believes that the existence of state systems, whatever they are, proclaimed by various circles, will not be able to ensure a Europe of free and independent nations. On the contrary, sooner or later it will lead to the loss of their independence and freedom. In Romania's conception, a united Europe must not mean a regimented Europe, a Europe like a barrack-like system, where the continent's policy is decided in a given capital city, its rules should be jointly decided on by all European nations, regardless of social system or whether they are big, medium-sized, or small. In this respect, Romania works for Europe's unity within the framework of diverse systems, by preserving the existence of free and independent states, as a Europe united in its economic development, a Europe of science, culture, peace and equal cooperation with other nations in the world.

Convinced, working for the establishment of a durable system of security on the continent, our party and state are constantly emphasizing and want to always remember the lessons of history and give a firm reply to the revival of militarist and revanchist forces. The European peoples, who took the heaviest toll in World War II, cannot and do not have the right to forget that the vicissitudes, crimes and attacks of capitalism, whose social bases have not been eliminated, always could become fatal factors for the destiny of mankind. There is no people in Europe which does not pay dearly for a system of international relations, for this attitude of tolerance toward fascism, and for the lack of unity in the struggle against fascism and war. Therefore, Romania believes that one should take a firm stand against the repression of various nationalist, chauvinistic, and revanchist elements and forces. The lessons of history, the party considers, must help us to intensify the struggle of nations to expel fascism and all forms of man's exploitation, for a policy of equal cooperation among all European and world nations, these lessons must help us to intensify the struggle of social democratic, primarily for the elimination of nuclear weapons.

In keeping with its principled position, in the party secretary general and president of the Republic [illegible] Socialist Romania will continue to take steps to promote constructive cooperation among the signatories of the Helsinki Final Act, in a spirit of great responsibility for the future of the European continent, a future of peace, complete security, understanding, and cooperation.

State Presidency Recalls Ambassador to U.S.

[illegible] Belgrade TANJUG [illegible] 2 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Ambassador to the United States Zivorad Kovacevic has been recalled under a decision by the SFRY Presidency. Ivo Vajgl, spokesman for the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, said this today in a news conference. He confirmed that Kovacevic had already returned to the country but that no decision had been made about his new job.

Vajgl refused to comment on the reasons which prompted the SFRY Presidency to decide to "bring the ambassador back home."

The decision was made in accordance with the SFRY Presidency's powers, Vajgl said. As you know, under the SFRY Constitution, the Presidency is competent to appoint and recall ambassadors. The envisaged procedure has been applied in this case and I can confirm that Ambassador Kovacevic corresponded his posting in Washington on 31 July.

At speculations appearing in recent days concerning Kovacevic's [illegible] back home after 7 years in the SFRY ambassador in Washington, Vajgl said that he "can not comment on [illegible] decisions made by the SFRY Presidency."

Why was the ambassador to the United States recalled to Yugoslavia?

As far as a new job for Zivorad Kovacevic is concerned, Vajgl said that "an agreement on this will be reached within the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs," since he, as it was explained, prior to his departure for Washington "had not been removed by the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs."

Vajgl told journalists that he had met Ambassador Kovacevic on his return to Belgrade. I personally think that his work in Washington at the head of the Yugoslav diplomatic mission was successful, Vajgl said.

But the assessment of his work, in accordance with the established authorities, will be made by the federal secretary for foreign affairs and by the immediate [illegible] of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, Vajgl added.

In response to the question when a new Yugoslav ambassador to the United States will be appointed, the spokesman of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs said that "this was underway."

Several candidates for new SFRY ambassador to Washington have already been put forward. This procedure, however, has not been finalized as yet, Vajgl said. [passage omitted]

Further on Croatian Communists Workers Conflict

Strike Continues

[illegible] Belgrade TANJUG [illegible] 2 Aug 90

[Text] About 300 workers of the Kamen Ivanic construction combine of Knezevo, who have been on a strike for 32 days, refuse to leave the factory premises they occupied and go to the Kamen communist community. The workers of the factory have prevented them from doing so without having to intervene. The workers occupied the factory premises since 1200, when they peacefully left for home. The management's conduct has been so unsatisfactory for 1 year, but the problems have [illegible] not been solved.

Most of the workers are angry [illegible] Kamen have been out of work due to a lack of building material.

Workers Protest Pressured

[illegible] Belgrade TANJUG [illegible] 2 Aug 90

[Text] Pristina, 2 Aug (TANJUG)—About 300 workers of the Kamen Ivanic construction combine in Knezevo, who have had no work for more than a month, were said to talk to the people. They were prevented from doing so at time of the factory gates by members of the municipal affairs organs who did not say why. The workers had prepared photographs of Josip Broz Tito for their street protest and said that they were convinced that no one had come to talk to them. They concluded on going to the provincial commission of the SR League of Communists building to hear what provincial officials thought about their problems.

Later in the afternoon they were addressed by Dejkovi Bekir, president of the municipal trade unions, and representatives of the provincial organs who were unable to say anything concrete about the future of this combine.

Those gathered dispersed peacefully at about 1400.

Foreign Secretary Andreotti Foreign Minister

[illegible] Belgrade TANJUG in English 2133 GMT 2 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, Aug 2 (TANJUG)—Andreotti Foreign Minister Ali Aliotti and his host Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar placed emphasis on their bilateral talks today on the forthcoming summit of the non-aligned nations in Belgrade.

Aliotti, who arrived on a working visit to Yugoslavia last night, expressed satisfaction with the fact that Yugoslavia will host the conference. He also pointed out that Indonesia, as one of the founding members of the

[illegible] August 2[illegible] there had a special interest in preserving the achievements of the movement and in its continuation on new foundations.

Expressing full support for the calls made by different parties for promoting the international solidarity and defense of Algeria and the need for the Pan-Algerian Movement to adapt to them. It [illegible] the drafts of documents already prepared for the summit and regarded their acceptance for the establishment of the above-mentioned documents were also heard.

Apart from the draft political declaration, the two [illegible] documents were carefully examined other documents prepared for the summit, including those on economic and technological links and the environment.

The Indonesian delegate, also on the statement of the Paris conference on Algeria[illegible], informed the body about the results achieved so far in the French capital.

Views also used the brief working visit of Algeria[illegible] to offer on behalf of its country a substantial financial contribution for the organization of the summit.

Various Speeches Submitted to [illegible] Plenum

[illegible] August (ATA) [illegible] Economic Reform in Algeria [illegible] 3 Aug 61

[illegible] August 1 Aug (ATA/Reuter)--The debate on economic reforms in Yugoslavia at the 10th Plenum of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee over the last 3 days has occupied the attention of the whole of the country's public and stimulated a great number of Central Committee members to express their views on this exceptionally delicate and topical group of problems. During this session of the highest party forum, almost 100 Central Committee members took the floor. 14 of them submitted their speeches in written form because of lack of time, and some withdrew.

In this "lack of time" some errors were even made in connection with the submission of the written speeches. At the plenum, this was expressed in the most precise way by Edvard Kardelj, mentioning that he did not intend to submit a written speech, but it "was appreciated behind closed doors." Several other members of the Central Committee reacted in a similar way.

In any event, it is interesting to see what was written but not spoken out loud in these contributions.

Peter Lovcenov, federal secretary for internal affairs, for example, stresses in particular that the attacks on the achievements of the revolution are dangerous in many ways, and are being implemented by various hostile forces in the country, and also from abroad. They strike at [illegible] objectives in the most delicate spot. They seek to engender [illegible] relations, thus paving the way for [illegible] aspirations, distrust, and hatred and try to straighten and divide Yugoslavia.

Under the conditions of profound crisis, the whole profound organic illness which shakes all to endemic [illegible] Lovcenov declares that the best proof of the people is growing and that confidence in the political [illegible] of the League of Communists (LCY) and in the organs of authority is weakening. Political [illegible] crisis is also strengthening and giving an internal feeling that is increasing. Much [illegible] the refraining of terrorist [illegible] assassination, [illegible] and explosions.

Lovcenov singled out as the causes of the present [illegible] disintegration the [illegible] economic situation, the [illegible] increasing incomparity and many [illegible] in trade, and disunity and indifference in the LCY in resolving burning problems. I felt it was [illegible] to point to [illegible] that we are at a critical point, when the [illegible] relations of working people and citizens could be turned against the system as a whole. Elements [illegible] this is being drawn in this from many sides.

Lovcenov advocates a clear [illegible] between [illegible] against and brings accusations [illegible] the current [illegible] specific features and differences [illegible] must be respected and maintained. Rejecting political [illegible] models by leaders of the [illegible] and events make [illegible] differences as the two main organs present and the taking of measures to suppress the [illegible] activities of individuals and groups.

It is partly because of this, Lovcenov explains, that sometimes there is an entirely inappropriate and distorted reaction to the public hostile [illegible] which are [illegible] increasing. In the crushing of this as well as of other forms of opposition hostile activity, political action which should precede the taking of legal measures is [illegible]. The [illegible] of a unified attitude toward phenomena and events would also lead to unified [illegible] in the whole country in law enforcement policy.

There are ways out of the crisis and the proposed [illegible] reforms. Lovcenov believes, and "we must find them." The Yugoslav orientation should be united, abstract, and straightforward.

The struggle for Yugoslavia, he stresses, is the most effective method of fighting all nationalisms, separatisms, and other forms of threats to the [illegible] Socialist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] on which it is based.

The reforms will remove the obstacles to taking effective measures to prevent and [illegible] the stabilization of the currently exceptionally complex situation in the

He warned that we are entering a sphere wherein scope is created for even more pronounced national divisions, which bring with them the possibility of turning into national-socialism. For this reason, he stated that the LCY Central Committee at this session should answer the questions of whether there were errors in the institutions of the system which were generating nationalism, of the attitude of the LCY and its parts toward the fundamental principles of nationality policy, of what measures should be used to oppose nationalist divisions, as well as the question of responsibility for one's own nationalism and the struggle against it.

Eterovic stressed in particular the issue of the concept of the consensus economy and its contribution to national homogenization and the growth of national divisions.

The strategy of Yugoslav economic development has become a matter of agreement between the republican centers of power, and the national bureaucracies enter into a race for power, not putting forward projects for greater economic efficiency, but rather a platform of the threat to their own nation. The predominance of national interests over class interests has come about. [passage omitted]

Ali Sabani was also of the opinion that the plenum should name the proponents of nationalist tendencies and give concrete answers to what the reasons for this were. If the opposite happens, fear and a feeling of insecurity among the people will become even greater and the consequences will be catastrophic for all, he said.

The documents submitted for this session were criticized by Sabani for speaking more about nationalism in other environments and less about nationalism in their own. It is high time for us to come to our senses and to raise our voices together against all forms of nationalism and to give an answer to whether there is a discrepancy between what is proclaimed in documents and what occurs in practice, Sabani stressed.

He pointed to the plan for enrolling secondary school students in Kosovo for the forthcoming school year, which envisions that only half the Albanians who have completed primary school should continue their education. At the same time, more places are planned for students of other nationalities in secondary schools than the number that have completed primary education, said Sabani, asking whether 11,000 students of the Albanian nationality were to be left to the streets. For this reason, he proposed that the LCY Central Comittee should charge the provincial organs with reexamining this plan.

Neither has the Central Committee given an answer as to why not everyone, regardless of their national affiliation, enjoys the right of assembly in order to express their protest. Also, it has not answered the question of how national equality in the sphere of employment is being implemented, or in allocating apartments, or in the representation of cadres in leading positions, Sabani said.

It should be said openly that in our country nationalism does not emerge only through nationalistic activities of individuals and groups. It also emerges through the institutions of our system, often through the state and party policy, Taip Taipi stressed.

In order to improve the situation we must, according to Taipi, in most concrete terms raise the question of the responsibility of all those who, either through their activity or the lack of it contributed to the stirring up of nationalism. Pointing out that we are running out of time, he added that it is necessary to establish the program of concrete measures and means directed toward curbing and preventing nationalism. [passage omitted]

Commenting that in the federal organs and organizations, in which around (?15,000) Communists are active, there have been no nationalistic manifestations, Nikola Markovic added that it should be understood that the causes of nationalism do not lie only in the past, but also in the deeply-seated socioeconomic crisis, and in particular in the mistakes and unrealistic assumptions of the political system. Speaking in favor of its critical reexamination, he stressed that the answer to the question of how to reintegrate Yugoslavia is of essential significance for the struggle against nationalism and that it lies in the development of democracy, the creation of conditions for a true equality of all nations and nationalities, and in dealing with the crisis.

The LC is unnecessarily avoiding saying openly that one of the bases for the reduction of space for the activity of nationalism is being created through the reaffirmation of the federation. Markovic sent concrete comments on the proposed stands of the LCY Central Committee on interethnic relations, assessing that this document should state in precise terms its organization, and be in favor of changes in the political system which would constitute the federation on the original rights of sovereignty. [passage omitted]

Nedjeljko Trajkovic stressed that everybody should fight against nationalism, in all environments where they live and work. Any emphasizing of national differences, negation of individual nations and nationalities, creation of political platforms and leadership based on national basis, as well as the use of some social organizations, associations, or meetings for activities against other nations, leads to divisions and conflicts.

Therefore the LC should struggle not only against those who stir up nationalism, but also against those who speak against another type of Yugoslavia. This implies a struggle against bureaucratism which in a multinational society cannot avoid the traps of nationalism, whether of the separatist or unitarist type. [passage omitted]

According to Ugljesa Uzelac, the essential causes of the exacerbation of interethnic relations and the crisis in society as a whole have resulted from the model of

socioeconomic and political development used so far. They have also resulted from the system which has used up its own strength and which has not produced economic results, nor has it been in the position to deal with the basic social and economic contradictions and create conditions for a way out of the crisis.

Socioeconomic relations have hindered the development of production forces, utterly weakened the efficiency of the economic system, and have led to the disintegration of economy and society, to the so-called national economies and autarchic trends, Uzelac said. On this basis, there have emerged interethnic, republican, and provincial conflicts, and one could also say, distortions and departures from the principled policy of the LC in the interethnic area. [passage omitted]

For a long time, the LC has not been consistent in curbing the origins and manifestations of nationalism in practice, according to Uzelac. That is why in recent years the demarkation line between socialist self-management and the principles of national policy on the one side, and the narrow-minded or unitarist behavior on the other has been blurred. [passage omitted]

Suljo Mehic joined those who believe that the LCY should attribute prime significance to the struggle against those phenomena which see nationalism only in another nation and ignore it in their own environment. He called for unity in the party, primarily among leaderships and leaders, and also for the establishment of the state of law. He also warned of departures from Tito's path in threatening brotherhood and unity.

Vlajko Petkovic pointed out overall divisions: economic, political, ideological, in particular divisions in the LCY. Instead of a unified LC we have as many leagues as there are federal units, he stressed. [passage omitted]

Charges Dropped Against POLITIKA Journalist

AU0308154389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2 Aug 89 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Charges Against Ignjatovic Thrown Out"]

[Text] Belgrade—The district public prosecutor in Belgrade has thrown out the criminal charges filed by the Federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration against the POLITIKA EKSPRES journalist Slobodan Ignjatovic.

The prosecutor thinks that there is no justification for the allegation that the article "The Government of Discord," which was published on 30 June and which was also carried by POLITIKA, amounted to the criminal act of provoking national, racial, and religious hatred and harmed the standing of the SFRY.

Greek Campaign on Macedonia 'Ridiculous'

LD0308224489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1908 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Athens, August 3 (TANJUG)—The current campaign in Greece against Yugoslavia and its republic of Macedonia has reached the point of describing as "ridiculous claims" the very existence of the Macedonian nation and language.

Speakers at the Fifth World Congress of All-Macedonian Associations in Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand, currently underway in northern Greece, levelled many accusations at and announced a resolute action against those whom they called "falsifiers of history" in Skopje.

The new minister for northern Greece, (Macedonia and Thrace), Panayotis Hatinicolaou, told reporters recently that forces hiding behind the "so-called Macedonian question" have intensified their efforts in Europe and worldwide. He promised to continue the policy of his predecessors and make additional efforts to highlight Greece's "just position against foreign forces who falsify history."

Chairman of the All-Macedonian Association in Canada Bardos was quoted by the ATHENS NEWS AGENCY ANA as accusing the "Skopje propaganda of falsifying our history."

Another sign of the growing campaign against Yugoslavia in Greece was yesterday's meeting of General Secretary of the Overseas Greeks Dhimitris Filis with the Australian ambassador to Greece. Filis spoke about the "activities of Yugoslavs living in Australia in connecton with the so-called Macedonian question" and said that Greek immigrants in that country were "taking actions against the anti-Greek propaganda."

Kosovo Writers Denounce Sekulic's Policies

AU0308140689 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jul 89 p 30-31

[Ali Aliu, Milazim Krasniqi article: "The Liaison Commissar—What the Change of Direction Looks Like to Tomislav Sekulic"]

[Text] Tomislav Sekulic, secretary to the Presidium of the Kosovo League of Communists Provincial Committee, clearly expressed his views on Kosovo in an interview in DANAS (No. 383). His radical direction, within an overall strategy, has been well known for years, and he has been very active in the process of de-Albanianizing Kosovo, for which he has become the number one darling of Kosovo Polje. There is no doubt that he is the most powerful individual and the main protagonist in current developments in Kosovo. At the very start of his interview, he states that the Albanians are on a mistaken path, and that they must now change direction. It must be said that the "liaison commissar" is shouldering a

difficult task when he thinks that the direction the Albanians are to follow can be set in a mechanical way, as if they were an amorphous mass. Sekulic has a ready recipe for such a "change of direction:" "If 80,000 Albanians live perfectly normal lives today in Belgrade-...why can this common life not be possible in Kosovo also?" As is well known, Albanians live "perfectly normally" not only in Belgrade, but in many other towns in Serbia (there are more than 200,000 of them) and of course they are content with their "equal" position. Apart from their difficult labor situation and their accommodation in cellars and huts on the edges of towns, they have no education or cultural life in their own language whatsoever, and no kind of access to public, economic, or political life. Therefore, the path to assimilation is always open.

It is nevertheless necessary to give some explanation of the matter of the "change of direction" that Sekulic advocates. Let us recall that the November gatherings of the Albanian people last year were to a large extent along the line of Tito's Yugoslavia, which can easily be confirmed by records and living witnesses. What kind of direction is he talking about now? Is he not perhaps thinking along the lines of the removal of Tito's influence in Yugoslavia, something which has now become real and is being loudly advocated in certain places? Since Sekulic's vision of the Albanians' "happy, common life" fits in well with demands for a different sort of Yugoslavia, it is necessary to ask what kind of direction the "liaison commissar" is talking about. He makes no mention of the Memorandum [of the Serbian Academy of Sciences], which considers Kosovo from an anti-Tito viewpoint, because his very platform is the Memorandum. For this reason, he supports and considers to be in order the Serbian demands for the destruction of the Yugoslav federation as created by AVNOJ [Antifascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and of Tito. Sekulic's attempt to set such a direction and identify it with the policy of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] therefore seems incredible: "We have no other choice besides that offered by the LCY, and this is to choose a common life." Why not make use of the LCY as a rubber stamp to approve decrees and commands, when such a practice has already been legitimized by Serbia's political and state "establishment?" [word in English in original]

Sekulic's recipe for the Albanians' "perfectly normal, common life" is already being acted on with all speed. The preparations for this began some years ago, while the test-sites for Cubrilovic-style methods were in certain areas outside Kosovo. Let us recall just some of the measures taken against the Albanians in Macedonia: the abolition of Albanian-language secondary education, the restriction on the use of Albanian in public life, the demolition of houses and surrounding walls, repressive police measures, the limitation of the birthrate by administrative means, and so forth. Our reactions at the time to everything being done to the Albanians in Macedonia were shown to be in vain, because such measures are now being partially taken in Kosovo. As is well-known, it is now almost 10 years since an outright war was declared against every educational and cultural institution that studies the Albanians' intellectual traditions. Every educated Albanian has become suspicious and has been declared an anathema. This campaign succeeded in creating a suitable basis for further encouraging the "de-Albanianization" of Kosovo. In such an atmosphere, hundreds of managers, directors, engineers, lawyers, economists, and working people of the Albanian nationality have been dismissed or suspended from their jobs in all fields of the province's social and economic life, while, in most cases, Serbian cadres are replacing them. The structure particularly of managing cadres in the economy, in the state authorities, in educational and cultural institutions, in the courts, etc. is being radically changed to the detriment of the Albanians. It can already be said that the Serbs, who comprise only 10 percent of the Kosovo population, have become a functional majority in the province. (We cite merely one example: The Presidium of the Pristina LC [League of Communists] Communal Committee has formed 15 working groups to carry out the process of ideopolitical differentiation against the Albanians at communal level, and only three of these groups are led by ethnic Albanians). In order not to burden this article with examples and figures, we mention only two more examples. The general director of the Trepca Combine has been replaced by a Serb. A few days ago, the authorities of the newly-created commune of Obilic proposed the dismissal of the general director of the Kosovo Electricity Generating Board, who is an Albanian, and put forward a sole candidate, Petar Kostic, to replace him. These two combines are the foundation of the Kosovo economy. Recently, the idea has been put forward to attach the Kosovo Electricity Generating Board to that of Serbia, which doubtless also has something to do with this "new direction."

In reply to his interviewer's question about the presence of Serbian nationalism in Kosovo, Sekulic was evidently unable to deny that it exists. However, when he was asked why the nationalist demands of Serbs do not meet with equal condemnation, and why Albanian demands in the spirit of the Constitution are so brutally denounced, Sekulic had a ready answer: "We are dealing with the Albanian counterrevolution, which has its own strategy and goals. It poses a permanent danger." This means that here we are dealing with a "permanent counterrevolution," which implies the possibility of "permanent" repressive measures, and the possibility of a "permanent" process of de-Albanianization, differentiation, suspicion, and distrust. According to such a "direction," one may say that any Albanian who dares to hold his own opinion, for instance about the constitutional amendments or the Constitution itself, and who dares to express his views during the constitutional discussions, will possibly immediately be proclaimed a nationalist or counterrevolutionary; if he dares to disagree with the decision to deny the right to education to one-half of the Albanian youth, he is a counterrevolutionary, and so forth. We are not talking about the fact

that free dialogue in the spirit of the democratization of society is totally impossible for the Albanians. According to Sekulic, Serbian nationalism has another permanent excuse: "The Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo today are somewhat nervous, impatient, and dissatisfied with what is happening; it seems to them that little is being done." Regarded from this angle, it seems that "1,700 ideopolitical measures" are "too little" (although, as Sekulic himself admits, there will have been more of them since then), considering that this involves only about 2 percent of the LCY membership. Another member of the Pristina LC Communal Committee (Gogic) goes further. He asks what 100 or 120 expulsions from the LCY mean in a collective with 1,000 or 2,000 employees. We can see clearly that we are thus dealing with the fundamental motive of reducing at all costs the presence of the Albanians in all areas of life, which clearly fits in with an overall Cubrilovic-style strategy.

Asked about the data published concerning people held in isolation and their torture by the police, Sekulic said that he had not read "these reports" personally and "had not heard information of this kind," although he believes and knows that "such things have not happened." Let us set aside the fact that the "liaison commissar" has had and still has the opportunity to have at his disposal the written statements on these matters, both by the isolated people themselves and the relevant authorities. However, when a party leader calls this data disinformation, this may mean that he is trying to prove that the Albanians are spreading disinformation, and that this is the work of some organized "counterrevolutionary staff." For this reason, one remains silent about the physical torture by the police of hundreds of isolated Albanian intellectuals and workers, or one speaks very timidly of them. There is official silence about this, silence from the newspapers of Kosovo and Serbia, and silence from the Serbian intelligentsia. How can they fail to keep silent when a section of them inspired and instigated such measures? What the Kosovo Polje people called for at rallies has been carried out by blue-uniformed men in some prisons of Serbia. The great Tucovic [Dimitrije Tucovic, 1881-1914, a founder of Serbian social democracy] was right when he called journalists the true culprits in the Serbian Army's terror against the Albanians in his time. What for example, did the soldiers on Tiananmen Square know when they arrived, perfectly certain of finding dangerous enemies of their country there?

Finally, speaking about the police's terror against "isolated" Albanians, it is well known that there is a long and bitter tradition. Let us merely recall the arms-collection operation of the winter of 1955-56, "during which more than 30,000 people were beaten up, of whom about 100 died of torture." We cannot say that this "rich" experience of physical torture of the Albanians is not well known, when it took place in this area so recently.

When we formulate a view on what Serbia is asking of Kosovo, and whether its intentions in this sense are entirely honorable, we could also ask what Kosovo is asking of the Republic of Serbia and whether Kosovo can in the future be considered to be in a position of subjection in this context.

The question of financial aid to Kosovo is also simplified, and not by Sekulic alone. The question of how much is given to Kosovo is often asked. Well, one may also ask how much is taken out of Kosovo. Can one finally place before public opinion the truth about the position of Trepca, both past and present? The question of control over investment, which is so often asked, requires every factor to be taken into account. We should not deceive ourselves that any truth can be more harmful than ignorance.

We conclude in the same way as the interviewer concluded her conversation with Tomislav Sekulic, with the smile that she flashed, which must, bearing in mind the bitter circumstances, be a restrained and bitter one.

Montenegro's Bulatovic on Situation in Kosovo

LD0308214289 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1742 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Pec, August (TANJUG)—The many years of the arrogant rule of the national bureaucracy of Kosovo hit hard on the very members of the Albanian nationality Momir Bulatovic, president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Montenegro, said in the Kosovo city Pec today. Bulatovic today placed a cornerstone for the construction of an electronics factory in the vicity of Pec, as a sign of Montenegro's solidarity with the need for Kosovo's development.

Bulatovic believes that it is regrettable that there is so much social and spiritual poverty, primitive national and religious narrow-mindedness in this region of Kosovo at the threshold of the 21st century. The present time when accounts are being settled will show that those most reponsible for the disastrous situation in Kosovo are not members of other nations, but former leaders who were praised but secured considerable financial funds for themselves with resulting general poverty and despair.

Supporting the efforts of the leaderships of the Republic of Serbia and the Province of Kosovo to stop and elminate the activities of Albanian separatists, the Montenegrin Communist leader emphasized that the constitutionalization of Serbia is the basis on which to proceed with the "true resolving of Kosovo's problems."

The model of socialism present in Yugoslavia so far, according to Bulatovic, has exhausted all its possibilities and today induces only stagnation, social dissatisfaction and inter-nationality intolerance. In that context, the Montenegrin Communist leader assessed that the last session of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) held early this week demonstrated that the essence of Yugoslavia's crisis is not in inter-nationality relations, but predominantly in

the quarrelling leaderships. Bulatovic expects that the most important task of the 14th special LCY Congress will be cadre reconstruction in the LCY organs and leaderships.

Jasari Urges Renewing Confidence in Kosovo

LD0308225189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1910 GMT 3 Aug 89

[Text] Pristina, August 3 (TANJUG)—Conditions have been created in Kosovo for the gradual renewal of inter-nationality confidence and improving inter-nationality relations. The step is still a small one, but it is encouraging, Pristina City Party Committee President Dr Gani Jasari said in Pristina today, addressing the members of joint Yugoslav police unit in Kosovo.

Jasari thanked the unit for its efforts which have helped to jointly stabilize the political-security situation in Kosovo to a certain extent, which now enables a more successful political action and battle against the forces which had wanted to draw the people of the province into bloodshed.

The political differentiation which is underway is not aimed at Albanians, Jasari underscored, but against those for whom brotherhood and unity are the heaviest burdens. The communist leader of Kosovo's capital added that it is not only malicious to spread allegations that Albanians in Yugoslavia are deprived of their rights (although this is the very place where they have prospered) but is even calculated to make Albanians "feel different" because they are allegedly threatened.

Asked to comment on reports in the weekly DANAS, which expects that the trial of former Kosovo communist leader Azem Vlasi will be a repetition of the circumstances which surrounded the trial of the "four" in Ljubljana, Jasari replied that reports in some media from the "northern parts of the country" are highly detrimental to the actions by the provincial and municipal party committees in Kosovo.

Commentary on Serbian Church Reform Document

AU0308154489 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Jul 89 p 3

[Jovan Radovanovic commentary: "A State Church With 'Three Heads'"]

[Text] The Sabac GLAS CRKVE, a newspaper which concerns itself with all the latest social and political events in the country, has published its own extremely interesting "St Vitus Day Message." It should immediately be said that this "Proposed Serbian Church National Program"—which BORBA carried in its entirety on 21 and 22 July—is in fact a very clear national church political program which, if not the whole of the Serbian Orthodox Church, then certainly one of its influential currents is presenting to the public.

Why now exactly?

In the proposal itself—the first part of which is written using a vocabulary and style which is similar to those used in official "documents" of the party and the state organs—it is clearly said that at this crucial moment that not only Serbia and Yugoslavia have reached but also the world of socialism, the church, in this case the Serbian Orthodox Church, must present its own platform of changes because "the church as a whole, as God's people, has suffered and endured too much for it to be able to intentionally and voluntarily serve its persecutor and simply forget its mission." The persecutors are, indeed, the "godless communist authorities" with which the church has, as it is said, been forced to come to agreement and to which it has even been forced to be "subservient."

We Want a Christian Europe

If these and similar observations which to many people will sound like unnecessary exaggeration and perhaps even a threat, are left to one side, it should be said that several questions are asked in the first part of the proposal that bother not only believing and non-believing Serbs, but also all Yugoslavs. These are: Will these well-heralded reforms establish a market economy or some new type of directed consensus economy? Can real pluralism be achieved or will this be yet another "cosmetic reform involving a pluralism which nevertheless seeks uniformity in the end"? This is followed by: "Without a radical change of the imposed Federal Constitution of 1974 and the sociopolitical and economic system that was founded on it, which has been the generator of the whole of our present crisis, there can be no talk of any basic resolution of the present problems in Yugoslav society."

Have we not heard the same sentence many times at the latest sessions of many Central Committees?

However, what in fact does the "Proposed Serbian Church National Program" demand?

It demands not only a change in the position of believers in society, on which there is still much work to be done, but also—according to the whole article carried by the Sabac GLAS CRKVE—a quite different place for the church as an institution of state authority. Even though it is said in several places in the text that the separation of church and state is an achievement of modern European democracies which the Serbian Orthodox Church also accepts, it does not fail to stress that "the otherwise correct formulation regarding the separation of church and state has been wrongly read and interpreted." The authors of the proposal therefore think that it is "essential to scrap the present completely outmoded and old-fashioned law on the legal position of the religious communities, as a direct product of the present Constitution, which had the aim of

restricting the rights of the members of the church, and establish it on sound new relations which will emerge from new constitutional provisions emulating the modern democracies in the world."

What the authors of the proposal have offered as new solutions would be difficult to accept in the "modern democracies" which are readily invoked. This is because, on the one hand, this same text says that: "The church today does not pretend to have a monopoly on the truth, on the contrary, it is aware of the fact that practiced atheism has spread and that we must live together in a society of differing views of the world, which can be a positive challenge for its members and a good stimulus for proper and authentic life. It is ready to respect everyone's freedom, but it is asking that its freedom also be unconditionally respected." On the other hand, the conclusion openly says that: "We want to enter a truly Christian Europe where God and man will be together, where happiness and peace will be developed as an example for the whole of humankind, where neither a worn-out democracy nor an old technocracy will rule, but a creative and real geographical democracy." We do not know what this "worn-out democracy" and "geographical democracy" is, but we are not quite sure that the demand for a pluralistic society can correspond to a "Christian Europe." Would a Europe reduced to Christianity be (sufficiently) European?!

However, so that we are not overly concerned with Europe, because it seems to have become an almost outmoded support for the numerous "national programs" which are sprouting on Yugoslav territory like mushrooms after rain, let us look at how the authors of the proposal assess the latest events in Serbia and Yugoslavia.

In Serbia—A Temporary Solution

"The recent proclamation of the Republican Constitution restored to Serbia the sovereignty of the state over the whole of its territory, while retaining the existence of the two autonomies in its composition"—it is said in the "Proposed Serbian Church National Program," only to immediately stress—"which can be accepted only as a temporary solution."

And further: "Since history and the future should now explain why Serbia had to suffer economic subservience, backwardness, partitions, and political inferiority in socialist Yugoslavia for almost half a century, one should now honestly recognize certain merits and endeavors of the new Serbian leadership in resolving the Serbian issue. The new authorities knew how to correctly use the great democratic energy and spiritual potential of the Serbian people, who have again begun to think with their heads and make decisions about their destiny."

This is followed by a nice admission to the "new authorities": "The fact is that during the last 2 years there has been a cooling off of relations between the Serbian Church and Serbian politicians, as well as the kind of changes that had not taken place in the half a century since the war. We cannot expect more at the moment. However, matters should not stop there. One should not be afraid of and shrink from the church, which for centuries has been the most stable mainstay of the Serbian nation."

This is because, as is said: "For a long time, the politically leaderless Serbian people had its only defender and leader in its church...." The authors of the Serbian Church national program think that these people suffered their troubles without complaint for too long. "They have finally come out and broken the silence. Loud and clear. The silence has not been broken by some new leader who is isolated from the people, as some people want to insinuate, but the people have broken the silence."

Stressing that through the church the people have always understood the state as a moral institution, the authors of the proposal finally quite clearly articulate their main demand: "There is no strong state without a strong church!"

Final National Reconciliation

This demand is in fact the leitmotiv of the whole text which holds its many contradictory parts. This is because, along with the recommendations that "with the help of the church, much can be done to save and preserve the Serbian countryside without it being threatened with disintegration and decay"; that "the church with the full cooperation of the state will find a solution for and point the way to establishing the lost harmony in the family"; or that "the state with the help of the church must be fully concerned with and worried about the temporarily unemployed and those incapable of working and the old and the sick"; it is stressed that the salvation of the Serbian state and society lies in the realization of the old "principle of the three heads: God as the head of the heavens, the emperor as the head of the state, and the father as the head of the household," whereby the "church should be allowed to enter the core of the life of our people."

It cannot be said that the authors of the "Proposed Serbian Church National Program" have not endeavored to quite clearly articulate the directions of their return to the core of the life of the people.

"History once more demands that the Serbian state and the Serbian Church gather their people everywhere, here in the country and wherever they are dispersed in the world"—say the authors, as if they have forgotten that they have stressed in several places that they do not think that a partnership between the state and the church is possible and advisable.

"History demands for the future of this people that we finally surmount all our accursed divisions and migrations, forgive each other, and establish peace on wrecked shelters and the graves and battlefields of fratricidal war."

And virtually in a crescendo:

"All Serbs must know: Your interests of the homeland at this moment supersede all our political, ideological, regional, and other divisions.

"Thus, the time has come for a final national reconciliation."

The "Proposed Serbian Church National Program," which has been published by the Sabac GLAS CRKVE, is obviously not a document that arose just like that, but is the final version of an ambitious national political program which in various ways could have been perceived in the public statements of an important current within the Serbian Orthodox Church. To judge by everything, it has been estimated that—because of everything that has happened in the last few years in our society—the time has come to present this consistent program to the public. In this respect, precisely because of the creation of a pluralistic climate in society, it could be good that the public has been briefed in so much detail on both the program and the future intentions of its authors. Offering a concept which in essence contains in practical terms the demand for the establishment of a state church which is the "mainstay of the Serbian nation," as well as the call for national reconciliation in the name of "the higher interests of the homeland," the authors can count on rallying together its adherents and also on public discussion and even criticism of their views.

The authors of the proposal should therefore be reminded that not one single society can accept a "national reconciliation" which would imply a reconciliation between criminals and victims, not only because the wounds are still deep but also because such a "reconciliation" has no meaning whatsoever nowadays. One simply cannot order—forgetfulness.

And another thing: Since the authors of the proposal have sworn so much by "modern European democracies," attempting to convince us that they support them, they should be reminded that, in contrast to their pronounced emphasis on the national principle as the supreme principle, not one modern European democracy is constituted on this principle. Some regimes which could hardly be called democracies have tried this in Europe, but they have ended disastrously not only for their own "nations" but also for many others.

Our official politicians who are preoccupied so much with their own "internal" problems must nevertheless pay more attention to this national political program, because its authors have clear ambitions to establish it as competition in future political projects and to even influence the creation of the new constitution and a different sociopolitical structure. And the influence of the church—and not only the Orthodox Church—is nowadays becoming stronger and stronger.